

A STUDY OF THE TARGUM AND PESHITTA TEXTS
OF SELECTED CHAPTERS OF THE BOOK OF
CHRONICLES.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I declare that this thesis has been composed by me and is my own original work. It was completed under the supervision of Dr A. P. Hayman, New College, Edinburgh. Books or Journals consulted and any other assistance received are referred to in the footnotes and in the Bibliography.

Signed

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ABSTRACT

Five chapters of Peshitta Chronicles have been examined, I Chronicles 1-3, 10; II Chronicles 19.

While there are occasional links there is no evidence of any powerful impact from Septuagint or Vulgate.

Apart from a few textual contacts there is no real sign of influence from the Chronicles Targum, which we possess in three manuscripts. This Targum is a filter for many of the exegetical traditions found elsewhere, the Targumist using various exegetical techniques to bring out the meaning of the text, with alterations and expansions of varying length. Occasionally there is a quality of lateness about the Targum whose final redaction seems to be considerably post Babylonian Talmud. Perhaps there was no influence on Peshitta Chronicles from our Chronicles Targum because the latter did not exist when the former was translated.

Peshitta Chronicles seems to be based on Massoretic Text which it reproduces sometimes faithfully, sometimes badly, with gaps in the text. There is some paraphrasing, a small number of Jewish 'set expressions' and, especially in unparalleled passages, strange departures from the text. If we accept a very broad definition of 'Targum', this could be called a Targum. Otherwise it is a mediocre translation of the Hebrew text, made by someone from a poor text or with a poor knowledge of Hebrew but with a feeling for Syriac style, from a Jewish background. This translation was later revised with help from parallel passages especially Samuel.

If Chronicles was overshadowed by Samuel-Kings in Judaism and in the early Church, this may have resulted in a loss of popularity leading to neglect which would account for the low translation quality and the careless way in which the text has been transmitted.

An attempt to get closer to the 'original Syriac' through an Armenian text did not prove very rewarding.

INTRODUCTION

In any discussion of the Peshitta of the O.T., five inter-related questions constantly arise: From what? By whom? For whom? When? Where? Is it a translation from the Hebrew, or from a Jewish Targum, both possibilities leaving room for influence from elsewhere, e.g. LXX? Was the translation made originally by Jews for Jews or for Christians, or by Christians for Christians? If by Jews for Jews, was the translation made B.C. or A.D.? If by Christians, in which centre of Christianity, and at which point in the historical development of the Church in that area? Is the text as witnessed to in the oldest Peshitta MSS the original text or is it a revision of "an old Syriac" - in which case, who made the revision and where and when and why and how?

A detailed examination of all these questions lies outside the scope of this study, but an attempt to deal with even one of them cannot succeed unless some attention is paid also to the others.

For F. C. Burkitt,¹ "The Peshitta is a direct translation from the Hebrew, in all essentials from the Massoretic text", made, he believed, by Jews. L. Haefeli² speaks of it as "eine . . . aus dem Hebräischen gelfossene Übersetzung, Peschitta genannt", and, like Burkitt, he regards this Hebrew text as very little different from our Massoretic text. Deviations from the Hebrew text were explained by Burkitt as "due to the caprice of the translator or his exegetical tradition"³ or by Haefeli as due to the LXX or Targumin (written or

1. Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire, (1899), p. 18.

2. Die Peschitta des Alten Testaments (1927), p. 4.

3. BURKITT, op. cit., p. 18.

oral) which were sometimes called in to help with the translation¹.

There are others, however, who see a much closer relationship between the Peshitta and the Jewish Targums. This 'Targum-emphasis' is usually associated with J. Perles who in 1859² put forward the view that the Peshitta was a translation produced by several Jews, and was based on ancient traditions which had originated in Palestine, and which at the time of the translation (Pentateuch first century A.D., Prophets and Writings later) were very widespread. M. J. Schönfelder in 1869, thought it possible that the Peshitta translation of the Pentateuch depended on Targum Onkelos. I. Prager, 1875, felt that the Peshitta was originally a Jewish Targum, taken over by the Christians, and considerably reshaped by them.

In the twentieth century the names most associated with the Targum emphasis in Peshitta origins are A. Baumstark, P. Kahle, C. Peters and A. Vööbus.



A. Baumstark, from being 'anti-Targum' in 1922, in 1927 regarded the Peshitta of the Pentateuch as a Jewish product based on Palestinian Targum material which is now no longer preserved as a corpus, e.g. he was able to show the agreement of the Peshitta text of Gen. 29:17 with a Genizah text and a Jerusalem fragment against Targum Onkelos and Ps Jon; he noted that the Peshitta, though written in an East-Aramaic idiom had a West-Aramaic basis, traces of which are still visible. With this combination of East and West he suggested Adiabene as

1. HAEFELI, op. cit., p. 95.

2. For much of the survey I am depending on F. ROSENTHAL, Die Aramaistische Forschung (1964), pp. 199-206, P. E. KAHLE, The Cairo Geniza² (1959) pp. 265-273, A. VÖÖBUS, Peschitta und Targumim des Pentateuchs (1958) pp. 9-17, ROBERTS, pp. 217-223, and WERNBERG-MØLLER.

the place of translation, and the occasion, the conversion of King Izates and his mother Helena to Judaism about 40 A.D., which resulted in the maintenance of very close ties between Adiabene and Jerusalem in the succeeding years.

C. Peters, in 1933, in a close study of the Peshitta text of the Pentateuch, isolated instances where, (a) Peshitta agrees with the whole Targumic tradition against MT, and (b) Peshitta agrees with at least one targumic witness. He concluded "dass wir in der Grundschrift der Peschitta ein aramäisches Targum zu erblicken haben", ¹ that Targum being Palestinian: though in spite of what he called "die fast verwirrende Fülle" of agreements under (b), he found that he could not state specifically with which form of the Palestinian Targum that agreement consisted.

P. Kahle, in 1959, reiterated his conclusions of 1930 and 1947, that, following Baumstark, the Peshitta is not a product of Christian translators in Edessa but a Jewish product "made by Jews for Jews" ², based on the Palestinian Targum which, he maintained, existed already in pre-Christian times, e.g. the use of  instead of  in Gen. 1:1 was for him strong evidence for Palestinian origin; and he concludes: "So the Jews of Jerusalem had already an Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch when the newly converted Jews of Adiabene were in need of an Aramaic Bible". ³ Kahle saw no reason why some of the expatriate Jews could not have translated this into Syriac.

1. "Peschitta und Targumim des Pentateuchs. Ihre Beziehungen untersucht . . .", Le Muséon XLVIII (1933), p. 39f; quoted in A. VÖÖBUS, op. cit. p. 13.
2. P. E. KAHLE, The Cairo Geniza ² (1959), p. 288.
3. ibid., p. 272.

A. Vööbus is in broad agreement with this approach, that the parent of the Peshitta of the Pentateuch derives from a Palestinian Targum. His main contribution has been his attempt to document this statement from the patristic material, which, he believes, shows that up to the thirteenth century Syriac quotations from the Pentateuch display a dependence on the Palestinian Targumim and concludes: "dass die altpalästinische Targumüberlieferung die Frühgeschichte der Peschitta noch weit mehr überschattet hat, als uns die vorhandenen Handschriften der Peschitta darüber Auskunft geben wollen".¹ In a more recent article,² while leaving both options open for a Jewish or a Christian origin of the Peshitta, Vööbus still holds firmly to the Palestinian Targum origin of the parent of the Peshitta Pentateuch.

Not everyone has been convinced by the arguments put forward in favour of the 'Palestinian-Targum-emphasis'. Even Baumstark at one point felt that Kahle's conclusions had gone beyond the available evidence and thought that the following statement was nearer the truth;

1. We begin with a Palestinian Targum much older than that which Kahle wants to make the Grundlage of the Peshitta.

2. This Palestinian Targum is transplanted to the East.

3. There it is shorn of its paraphrases.

4. In this shorn form it serves as the Vorlage for both Peshitta and TO.³

Sperber⁴ remarks that to be able to carry out stage 3 successfully one would require to have a sound knowledge of Hebrew and of the Bible,

1. A. VÖÖBUS, Peschitta und Targumim des Pentateuchs (1958) p. 36.

2. 'Syriac Versions' in IDB, Supplementary Volume (1976), p. 848f.

3. A. SPERBER, IV B. p. 410.

4. ibid. pp. 410-412.

and asks the rather pointed question - Why did such men, obviously well versed in Hebrew, not translate directly from the Hebrew text?

Rosenthal felt unhappy about some of the arguments used by Baumstark and Kahle. Both, e.g. had regarded the presence of \aleph in Peshitta Pentateuch as evidence of a link with the Palestinian Targum. Rosenthal, however, maintains that it is very difficult to show that

\aleph is used only in Palestinian Aramaic. P. Wernberg-Møller points out that, as TO also uses \aleph in Gen. 1:1, and as for Kahle, TO originated in Babylonia, his argument loses some of its force.

Wernberg-Møller makes three further important points in relation to the Palestinian-Targum theory:

1. The case is weakened by the fact that none of its supporters can agree on the extent of the literary affinity between Peshitta and Palestinian Targum.

2. So far as methodology is concerned "... literary dependence between two literary works, when it exists, is recognizable and indisputable by its very nature ...",¹ and such dependence must be evidenced not just by the presence of identical or nearly identical isolated words, but by "some degree of phraseological similarity between them".² It is the latter which he feels the Palestinian Targum advocates have failed to find.

1. WERNBERG-MØLLER, p. 259, n. 2.

2. ibid. p. 255.

3. He follows A. Sperber¹ and A. E. Silverstone in seeing a link between Peshitta of the Pentateuch and TO, and castigates Kahle in particular for failing to recognise that TO represents a revision of Palestinian material. Wernberg-Møller believes that "in this revised Babylonian form, it (TO) was consulted by the Syriac translator from time to time".² This, of course, partly concedes Kahle's point that the Palestinian Targum (though now in the revised TO format) lies somewhere behind the Peshitta, and Wernberg-Møller's putting TO, not as the major factor, but, as it were, on a consultative basis, is reminiscent of Haefeli's statement that Targums were sometimes called in to help in the translation.³

This brief discussion on the 'Palestinian Targum emphasis' in relation to the Peshitta has perhaps demonstrated that in describing the character of the Peshitta it is easy to speak of a 'Targum emphasis' but exceptionally difficult to be more precise and relate this to a particular Targum.

So far we have been concerned primarily with the Pentateuch: indeed, in the discussion on the Targum emphasis, "The Peshitta" has really meant "The Peshitta of the Pentateuch". This is understandable,

1. While P. Wernberg-Møller mentions Sperber in the context of a connection between TO and Peshitta, it does not seem that they see this connection in quite the same way. For Sperber, TO and Peshitta go back to a common ancestor, but they developed in different ways: "... the Peshitta with its literal translation of almost all the passages where Jewish tradition is involved, represents that stage in the development of Aramaic Bible translations, which was in use before the adaptation of such a text to Rabbinic tradition and interpretation transformed it into what became known as Targum Onkelos", (A. SPERBER, IV B, p. 416). Thus the passages "where the Peshitta seems to follow a tradition similar to that which is underlying Onkelos" are very few.
2. WERNBERG-MØLLER, p. 263.
3. See above, p. 2f.

for, with several Targums (in whole or in part) available there is more material for discussion and further, if the translation were the work of Jews - or of Christians from a Jewish background - this is the section which would probably be translated first. What then of 'The Prophets' or 'The Writings'? Can the same 'Targum emphasis' be detected in their translation? Here the 'block' approach is not so much in evidence; we do not hear scholars e.g. refer to "The Prophets" and its relationship to this Vorlage or that. As some books were probably translated at different periods by different hands, a more individual approach is usually adopted. A. Vööbus¹ sums up the position for many books as follows:

"Certain books render the Vorlage quite literally (Song of Songs); some even servilely (Job); others show more freedom (Psalms and especially Isaiah and the Minor Prophets); some display a surprising paraphrastic freedom (Ruth); others unfold Targumic pattern in textual formation (Pentateuch, Ezekiel, Proverbs), and some have an even fuller degree of paraphrastic renderings derived from the Midrashic and Targumic traditions (Chronicles). Disparate elements appear even in the fabric of the individual books. These phenomena indicate that different parts of the Peshitta go back to different textual bases, and that they originated in different periods."

Many of these judgments do not concern us at the moment, but while some scholars would wish to modify Vööbus' views on the Targum influence on the Peshitta Pentateuch, most would give general assent to his verdict in the above quotation on the Peshitta of Chr. (PC). Even Burkitt, with his preference for MT as Vorlage admits that PC is "amazingly paraphrased"². Eissfeldt³ notes: "Chronicles was translated . . . in dependence upon a Targum". Roberts⁴ thinks that PC "more than any other book is paraphrastic, containing Midrashic elements and

1. 'Syriac Versions' in IDB, Supplementary Volume (1976), p. 849.

2. F. C. BURKITT, Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire (1899), p. 18.

3. The Old Testament, (1965) p. 700.

4. p. 221f.

exhibiting many of the characters of a Targum". F. Buhl¹ comments on PC: "In this writing . . . a mere Jewish Targum, with all the peculiarities of such a work, is made use of". Such quotations could be multiplied. The statement which puts the matter in the simplest terms is that of S. Fraenkel² that PC is "ein reines und unverfälschtes jüdisches Targum".

His conclusions³ may be summarised as follows:

(a) PC's Vorlage was unpointed, lacking sentence division, badly written, with many gaps in the text;

(b) he often corrected his version, sometimes from Hebrew, often from Targums, especially the prophetic targums, as he held "the Prophets" in higher esteem than "the Writings";

(c) he alters or avoids anthropomorphisms;

(d) he inserts additions to help clarify the sense, as well as haggadic interpretations;

(e) he up-dates names of places and peoples;

(f) sometimes he fills in gaps by simply inserting the parallel passage.

Obviously he did not use our TC:⁴

(i) there is little similarity between PC and TC;

(ii) had he used it, he would have inserted it at those points where there are still gaps.

The translation is not of Palestinian origin, for had the translator lived there, he would have used the Jerusalem prophetic Targum instead of the Babylonian.

1. Canon and Text of the Old Testament, (1892), p. 191.

2. p. 756.

3. pp. 753-8.

4. Targum to Chr.

The translation is not from one of the Babylonian towns with a large Jewish population, for had the translator lived there, he would have had access to a better text and would have had a firmer grasp of Hebrew.

Fraenkel concludes, therefore, that PC was made in Edessa, by a Jew for Syrian Jews, and was taken over later by Christians. It must be pre-Aphraates, who quotes it, even if it is only from memory. He regards c. 250 A.D. as a possible date for the translation.

All the indications so far point to some kind of Targumic emphasis in PC. The exact nature of this emphasis or the connexion with a particular Targum is rather more difficult to determine. Assuming for the moment with Fraenkel that PC is "a . . . Jewish Targum", certain questions immediately emerge: Was it a Syriac Targum which came into existence in the same way as e.g. the Aramaic Pentateuch Targums, i.e. in the context of the synagogue service? Or was it that, at a certain point in time, a decision was taken to translate Chr. into Syriac and a Jewish Aramaic Targum was used as the Vorlage? If the latter is the case, do we know anything of this Targum, and, as we have in our possession a Targum to Chr. can it be shown that there is any connection whatever between our TC and the Targum to Chr. from which PC was translated? Each of these questions leads to a further series of questions, but underlying them all are two uncertain factors which must be briefly discussed:

1. The status of Chr. among the Jews and the origin of our TC.
2. The status of Chr. in Syriac-speaking Christianity.

1. b. B. B. 14b places Chr. last in the Writings, and b. B. B. 15a provides us with some information on authorship: עזרא כתב ספרו ויחוס של דברי הימים ערלו. Ezra, then, wrote some of it and, a

little later, we are told that Nehemiah finished it. Though Chr. contains details of the period before Ezra-Neh., the fact that in the list in b. B. B. 14b it comes after Ezra-Neh., and the statement on authorship in b. B. B. 15a, may suggest the following line of progress to canonical status. If originally one with Ezra-Neh., the Ezra-Neh. section had no difficulty in achieving recognition because this was the basic document which told how God had worked for His people at a particular time, but the period which Chr. dealt with had already been adequately covered in Sam-Ki. and Chr. may therefore have been seen as redundant. I Chr. 1-9, however, because of its genealogical data, was then seen as necessary and with the part entered also the whole, aided perhaps by the Davidic emphasis. This approach, which tends to regard Chr. as a not altogether vital addendum and which may also indicate that Chr.'s acceptance came rather late, would represent the view of e.g., Rosenberg-Kohler¹, and while it seems a reasonable approach, should be balanced by the comment of H. E. Ryle², who, having outlined a similar approach adds: "We have nothing further to go upon than probability in assuming that . . . Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Esther, and Chronicles, were accepted into the Canon at a later date than the other writings of the Hagiographa".

When we try to learn more of the status of Chr. from an examination of its use in public worship we find we have very little evidence to work on. While the Scrolls gradually found a guaranteed place in the liturgy because of their link with certain festivals, no such good fortune came the way of Chr. We are aware from m. Yoma 1.6, that Chr. -

1. pp. 135-140

2. The Canon of the Old Testament (1892), p. 141f.

along with Ezra, Job and Dan - had the doubtful privilege of having selections from it read to an apparently illiterate High Priest before he took part in the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement. b. Shab. 116b suggests that in at least one centre of Judaism, Chr. may have had a part in public services: in Nehardea there was a reading from the Hagiographa as a kind of Haftarah at minḥah on the Sabbath. But this possibility is made more remote by J. Mann's comment¹ that the whole passage in b. Shab. "refers to study at the Bet Hammidrash and not to the service in the synagogue as has been rightly pointed out by R. Isaiah di Trani . . ." S. Z. Leiman² states: "There is no evidence that the books of Proverbs, Job, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles were recited publicly in the cult or read during the synagogue service".

This rather gloomy prospect, however, is brightened by the fact that in some quarters there was a little more enthusiasm for Chr.. Vay. R. I. 3 (cf. Ruth R. II. 1) quotes a saying attributed ultimately to Rab: "The Book of Chronicles was given only to be expounded midrashically.". Whether such a saying had a certain derogatory tone, implying that there was little else one could do with the book, or whether it was meant to give Chr. a high rating by allotting to it this kind of interpretation, or whether Chr.'s names and lists had already become the source of much popular exegesis and this statement was an attempt to acknowledge the fact and to provide official approval, is difficult to say. But the very existence of such a statement, attached to a weighty name, allows us to conclude that at some time Chr. was used in this way and it seems that there was a collection of such

1. 'Changes in the Divine Service', HUCA, IV (1927), p. 283, n. 88.

2. The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture: the Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence (1976) p. 139, note 21.

midrashic interpretations based on Chr., ספר יוחסין e.g. b. Pes.

62b:

מיום שנגנז ספר יוחסין תשש כחן של חכמים
 יכה תאור עיניהם אמר מר זוטרא בין אצל
 לאצל טעינו ארבע מאה גמלי דררשא

We find a hint as to the nature of this exegetical approach in b. Meg.

13a: רבי שמעון בן כזי כי הוה כתח ברברי

הימים אמר הכי כל דבריך אחר הם ואנו יודעין לדורשן

When we look at the pesikṭas, we note that both in the Pesikṭa de Rab Kahana, (compiled fifth century), and in Pesikṭa Rabbati (compiled sixth to seventh centuries), passages from Chr. feature in the exposition, though a glance at the indices reveals that the number of passages dealt with and referred to, is not nearly so great as for Sam. and Ki. Thus, while Chr. found no place in the passage read in the synagogue, gradually some of its material had infiltrated the synagogue by a different route.

This estimate of Chr. - at first not very popular, but later being allowed to play a specific interpretative role - is in complete contrast to the view put forward by A. Spiro¹. In an attempt to show that Ps. Philo based his work on the model of Chr. as he tried to do for the earlier period what Chr. had done for the later, Spiro stresses that up to the second century A.D., Chr. in Jewish thinking held a much more exalted place than Sam-Ki. (Spiro dates the Baraita in b. B. B. 14b as second century A.D.). Sam-Ki. was much larger and more difficult to handle; it contained some questionable material, and for these and

1. 'Samaritans, Tobiads and Judahites in Pseudo-Philo', Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research XX (1951) pp. 303-308.

other reasons Chr. came to be "regarded as the authorised version of the history of Israel".¹ A shift in exegetical emphasis which allowed offensive parts of Sam-Ki. to be so interpreted as to reveal hidden and higher meanings helped to rehabilitate Sam-Ki. and the fact that it could claim prophetic authorship was the coup de grâce to Chr., which gradually lost its position of honour and was given "the last place in the Hagiographa as a useless and repetitious book".² One assumes that the same shift of emphasis opened up new interpretative horizons for Chr. also - perhaps this is what Vay. R. I 3 is referring to - but apparently the lack of prophetic authorship weighed heavily against it. At any rate, for Spiro, the change of fortune for Chr. is reflected in the "Baraitha, in TB Baba Bathra 14b, which degraded Chronicles to the last rung of the third-rate collection of Hagiographa . . .".³

It is difficult to say if the position in which a book appears in a list is necessarily an indication of the status of that book. In b. B. B. 14b, Chr. comes at the end of the Hagiographa, and this position does raise certain queries because that which precedes it position-wise follows it time-wise. But even if there was an initial uncertainty there is no reason why the book should carry this label for all time. C. D. Ginsburg⁴ notes that in the St. Petersburg Codex, dated A.D. 1009, Chr. occupies first place in the Hagiographa; describing this from Adath Deborim as the Palestinian practice, "and the order which places Chronicles or Esther at the end of this division

1. ibid. p. 304.

2. ibid. p. 308.

3. ibid. p. 307.

4. Introduction to the Masoretic-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible (1897), p. 2.

as the Eastern or Babylonian practice . . .". This may indeed have represented a difference in evaluation between East and West, or the position of Chr. in the St. Petersburg Codex which places Chr. just before the Psalms, may have been because Chr. in which David plays such a leading role, was regarded as a good introduction to the book attributed to him. In fact, the short discussion on the Writings in b. B. B. 14b does not give any grounds for suggesting that the order of the books was determined by their importance.

Thus, the status of Chr. in Judaism is uncertain: we have no evidence for its regular use in synagogue services, and whether Spiro is right that Chr. had once had a golden age before its eclipse by Sam-Ki. (about second century A.D.), or whether Chr. had always lived under its shadow, it does seem clear that at some point a special kind of interpretation was associated with Chr. though b. Pes. 62b hints that this kind of interpretation also fell out of favour.

If, then, it is unlikely that Chr. was read in the synagogue, its chances of having a Targum are somewhat reduced, as the production of Targums was so closely linked with the synagogue services, though the fact that Job had a Targum must make us cautious in tying Targum production too closely to these services. In that there exists a TC, and as Chr. does not figure in the synagogue services, we must try to explain its origin. Did it arise solely within the context of study and have its Sitz im Leben in the Beth Hammidrash? In trying to answer this we must outline briefly what we know of TC.

For a long time the very existence of a TC was unknown. Raschi (1045-1105)¹ was unaware of any Targum to the Hagiographa. David Kimhi

1. ZUNZ, p. 68, note d)

(1160-1235) wrote commentaries on several Biblical books, including the Former and Latter Prophets, as well as on Chr. which was his first commentary. Now, when he is commentating on the Former and Latter Prophets, Kimḥi constantly refers to the Targums to these books. Yet when dealing with Chr., he never once mentions a Targum to Chr. nor does he give any hint that he is aware of the existence of such a Targum. Indeed when discussing passages in Chr. which have parallels in Sam-Ki., he quotes the Targum to Sam-Ki. but does not refer to the fact that an identical interpretation of some of these passages is given also in TC.¹ Elias Levita (1469-1549) has no doubts about the matter. He is on record twice as saying that there is no Targum to Chr.² In Brian Walton's London Polyglot of 1654-57 no Targum is printed alongside the Hebrew text of Chr.

We are now aware, however, of a TC from three MSS:

(a) an Erfurt MS (E), dated 1343, now in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in East Berlin, MS or fol. 1210, 1211, published by M. F. Beck in 1680, 1683;

(b) a Cambridge MS (C), MS Or. Ee. 5.9, dated 1347, published by D. Wilkins in 1715;

(c) a Vatican MS (V), Vat. Urb. Ebr. 1, dated 1294, published by R. Le Déaut and J. Robert in 1971.

There was a fourth MS in Dresden, but it was destroyed in 1945.

The lack of awareness of the existence of a TC in some distinguished mediaeval scholars must make one wonder if we are not dealing here with a work which circulated in an area for a limited time and then sank

1. A. SPERBER, IV A. pp. 70-71.

2. LE DÉAUT, I, p. 10.

into oblivion. Yet too much should not be deduced from this mediaeval unawareness. Rashi, e.g., seemed to be unaware of the existence of any Targums to the Hagiographa.¹ The view of Rosenberg-Kohler may be nearer the truth, that the lack of attention and study devoted to Chr. led to a failure to multiply copies of its Targum.²

This brings us back to the earlier question - Whence came TC? With the door of the synagogue service largely closed to it, the only other door open is that of the Beth Hammidrash (unless we introduce a further possibility, the area of private study which, by its very nature, has an esoteric quality and is very difficult to document). It is to this 'house of study' that Rosenberg-Kohler allot all the activity which resulted in Targum production. "Wir müssen uns nach einer umfassenden Lehrthätigkeit umsehen, die sich über die Erklärung der ganzen Bibel erstreckte."³ The centre of this Lehrthätigkeit they find in the Beth Hammidrash, the school. Palestine, above all from linguistic considerations, they consider its home⁴. Its final form they place as post Babylonian Talmud - on which it relies quite heavily, at a time when the Babylonian Talmud was already regarded as the main authoritative source of Biblical exposition. As there is no hint of Arab influence they do not want to come as far forward as the ninth century. Thus eighth century is regarded as the date of the final redaction of TC.

2. As for the position of Chr. in the Syriac speaking Church, facts are few:

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1. ZUNZ, p. 68, note d)
 2. ROSENBERG-KOHLER, p. 277.
 3. p. 275.
 4. p. 276. cf. LE DÉAUT, I, 16-18.

(a) Aphraates, (first half of fourth century) seems to quote from PC, not word for word, but more in the nature of allusions or paraphrases; Fraenkel¹ says he is quoting from memory.

(b) Ephrem (306-373) wrote no commentary on PC.

(c) Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia (c. 350-428), excluded Chr. from his Canon. The Nestorians, for whom he was "The Interpreter", followed his example. According to Nestle² the Jacobites may also have omitted it from their Canon. At some point it was obviously restored to the respective Canons.

(d) The original Armenian translation is thought to have been translated from Syriac early in the fifth century. If Chr. was included in that first Armenian translation - and I am unaware of evidence to the contrary - this would be some positive indication of the status of PC.

(e) Our earliest MS of PC is of the sixth century, 6 h 13, Brit. Mus. Add. 17, 104.

(f) Barhebraeus (1126-86), a Jacobite bishop, famous for his Biblical scholia, gives no scholia for Chr. and in his grammar does not quote PC.³

(g) Two things emerge from an examination of the List of Old Testament Peshitta Manuscripts (1961), produced by the Peshitta Institute:

(i) In the MSS listed, apart from 7 a 1, where it occurs in the middle of a miscellaneous concluding section, Judith, Sirach, Chr., Apoc. Bar, IV Esd., Ezra-Neh., IV Macc . . ., Chr. normally is found

1. p. 758.

2. 'Bibelübersetzungen, syrische' PRE 3 III, p. 170.

3. FRAENKEL, p. 758.

in the position it occupies in LXX, i.e. following Sam-Ki.

(ii) While several books have gaps listed in some MSS, Chr. seems to display this feature more regularly than most. This may point to a certain carelessness in the transmission of the Chr. text, which in turn may be the direct result of its rather uncertain status within the Church.

The general impression gained from these rather negative statements is that Chr. may not have been very highly regarded in the Syriac speaking Church. This uncertain status of Chr. is paralleled by the somewhat similar phenomenon in Judaism, and it is tempting to argue from this to a Jewish origin of the Syriac speaking Church and perhaps also of the Syriac Old Testament: that, in fact, this Church had simply taken over the Jewish estimate of Chr. One ought to remember, however, that elsewhere in the Christian Church, Chr. produced problems. Jerome (c. 342-420) found Chr. a very confused and difficult book and his reason for translating it is to try "to sort out and arrange in orderly sections . . . the maze of difficulties in the Book and the tangle of proper names so confused by the errors of scribes, and the barbarous unintelligibility of the meaning":¹ (*sensuumque barbariem*). He was doing this, because he regarded Chr. as a book for study by the select scholarly few - if this is the interpretation which can be put on eruditio Scripturarum in his remark ". . . quod omnis eruditio Scripturarum in hoc libro continetur".² This is how Willi interprets it.³

1. J. P. MIGNE, PL, XXVIII col.1326f. Translation from W. H. SEMPLE, 'St. Jerome as a Biblical Translator', BJRL 48 (1965), p. 238.

2. J. P. MIGNE, PL XXIX, col. 403.

3. T. WILLI, Die Chronik als Auslegung (1972), p. 14.

It may be that it is along this line that we find the answer to the question of the status of Chr., i.e. that the much more readable and broader-in-scope version of Israel's history in Sam-Ki. had, in both Judaism and Christianity, transformed Chr. more and more into a special kind of 'reference book', a book to be consulted and used only by those capable of handling it, and that this usage - or lack of usage - led to a certain neglect of it by those less able and a carelessness in its transmission (which Jerome also found), giving the book a rather low status within Judaism, with certain detrimental side-effects so far as Targum production was concerned, and later within Christianity and especially - from our point of view - within Syriac-speaking Christianity.

In this study five chapters of PC are examined:

I Chr. 1-3, 10 and II Chr. 19. These chapters are looked at in relation to the Versions but in particular in relation to TC on the basis that if a Targum is thought to lie behind PC, TC must be examined first, to see if it is the Targum in question and if not, to eliminate it from the enquiry.

CHAPTERS ONE TO THREE. I Chr. 1-3 consist largely of names, sometimes with parallels in the Pentateuch, sometimes with parallels in Sam-Ki., sometimes with no parallels at all. In TC these chapters contain a considerable number of 'Targumic Expansions'. These expansions, their origin and development will be given particularly close attention, in an attempt to discover if the exegetical emphases they express find any point of contact whatever in PC. Textual matters will also be examined, especially in I Chr. 2 and 3.

CHAPTER FOUR. I Chr. 10 is a self-contained narrative, most of which has a close parallel in Sam. An examination of this chapter may give us some insight into how PC, with much other material available, set about translating such a section into Syriac.

CHAPTER FIVE. II Chr. 19 has been chosen because it has no parallel in the Old Testament. In this chapter we should be able to see how PC did his work when there were no external aids in the form of parallel passages available to assist him.

CHAPTER SIX. In examining any passage in the Old Testament one is trying constantly to get back as near to the original text as possible. Textual critical matters are therefore given considerable attention throughout, but in this chapter an old theory, which maintained that through a thirteenth century Armenian MS we could come into very close contact with the fifth century Syriac text, is looked at, with the realisation that if the theory is valid, new horizons for the story of the Syriac text are immediately opened up.

It is accepted that a mere five chapters provide a very narrow basis for discussion and it is not suggested that any conclusions reached in relation to these five chapters necessarily apply to similar chapters within Chr. But it is suggested that an examination of these representative chapters will allow us to see something of the nature and character of TC and of PC, which may or may not show signs of TC's influence.

For easy reference the following nomenclature has been adopted:

SYRIACMSS¹

- 6 h 13 London. Brit. Mus. Add. 17,104
 7 a 1 Milan. Ambrosian Library. B 21. Inf.
 8 a 1 Paris. National Library. 341.
 9 a 1 Florence. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. 58.

EDITIONS

Edd. refers to the Editions of Walton (1654-57) and Lee (1823).

PC normally refers to the Peshitta text of Chr., but when PC is used in connection with a specific reading, it includes all the witnesses under MSS and Edd. above unless otherwise stated, except for II Chr. 19, where 7 a 1 is missing.

PS normally refers to the Peshitta text of Sam., but when PS is used in connection with a specific reading, it includes only 7 a 1, Walton and Lee.

For the Pentateuch, only the Edition of W. E. Barnes (1914) has been used.

GREEK

LXX - in Chr. and Sam. refers to the edition of Brooke-McLean (1932 and 1927 respectively) and elsewhere to the sixth edition of Rahlfs.

LATIN

Throughout, Vg refers to the Vulgate, edited by R. Weber (1969).

ARMENIAN

Arm refers to Zohrab's Edition of 1805, except in CHAPTER SIX,

1. List of Old Testament Peshitta Manuscripts (1961).

where this edition is denoted by Arm(Z) to distinguish it from KH, the text of Khalatianz.

ARAMAIC

TC refers to the Targum to Chr. in general terms, but when used in connexion with a specific reading includes the following, unless otherwise stated:

MS C Cambridge. Or. Ee. 5.9.

MS V Vatican Library, Vat. Urb. Ebr. 1, as published by Le Déaut and Robert, 19. This has been used as the basic text throughout.

MS E Staatsbibliothek, East Berlin, or. fol. 1210, 1211 could not be obtained on Microfilm because of the size and condition of the MS. In its place, the text in A. Sperber, The Bible in Aramaic IV A (1968) has been used. In his preface he states: "The Targum to Chronicles, as published and analyzed here, is based on the unique manuscript, which M. Steinschneider described sub numero 125 in his Verzeichnis . . ." Le Déaut¹ notes that Sperber is in reality following Lagarde's edition (1873) of E, assisted by D. Wilkins' edition of C.

For Targums to other books of the Old Testament, Sperber's 'The Bible in Aramaic' Vols. I, II, III is used, unless otherwise stated.

In quotations from the Targum to Chr., underlining denotes a 'Targumic Expansion', broken underlining denotes an alteration to the text of MT.

1. I, p. 13, note 22.

CHAPTER ONE

FIRST CHRONICLES CHAPTER ONE: TARGUMIC EXPANSIONS

At various points in I Chr. 1, the Targumist - for whatever motives - has made additions to his text. Such 'expansions' are sometimes brief and cryptic, sometimes longer and more involved. These TARGUMIC EXPANSIONS are now subjected to a rigorous investigation in an attempt to trace their origin, their development and the reason for their use in the present context. It is hoped that such a study will not only give some indication of the nature of the Targum and the methods of the Targumist, but will also show the extent to which such traditions may have had an effect on the translation of PC.

I. I Chr. 1:10NIMROD

As well as an expansion in TC, we have, at the corresponding verses in Gen., (10:8, 9), similar expansions in the following Targums: Ps Jon, Neo I, Neo I M, FT. A comparison of all these may help to throw the expansion in TC into clearer relief.

MT gives the following:

I Chr. 1:10 "Cush was the father of Nimrod; he began to be a mighty one in the earth."

Gen. 10:8, 9 "Cush was the father of Nimrod; he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord; therefore it is said, 'Like Nimrod, a mighty hunter before the Lord.'"

The Targums deal with these passages as follows: (for the sake of completeness, Targum Onkelos is included)

TO 10:8 "And Cush was the father of Nimrod; he began to be a mighty one in the earth. 9. He was a mighty one before the Lord; therefore it is said, 'Like Nimrod, a mighty one before the Lord'."

Ps Jon 10:8 "And Cush was the father of Nimrod; he began to be mighty in sin and to rebel before the Lord in the earth. 9. He was a mighty rebel before the Lord; therefore it is said, 'From the day in which the world was created there has not been like Nimrod a mighty one in hunting and a rebel before the Lord'."

Neo I 10:8 "And Cush was the father of Nimrod; he began to be a mighty one in the earth. 9. He was a mighty one in sin before the Lord: therefore it is said, 'Like Nimrod, a mighty one in sin before the Lord'."

Neo I M 10:8 "in sin and to rebel before the Lord in the earth."

10:9 "from the day that the world was created there has not been a mighty one in sin like Nimrod and a rebel against (lit. of) the Lord."

FT 10:9 "He was a mighty one in hunting, a mighty one in sin before the Lord. He was a hunter of the sons of men in their speech and he said to them, 'Remove yourselves far from the judgments of Shem and cleave to the judgments of Nimrod'. Therefore it is said, 'Like Nimrod, the mighty one, mighty in hunting, mighty in sin before the Lord.'"

TC 1:10 "And Arab was the father of Nimrod, he began to be a mighty one in sin, he shed innocent blood, and a rebel before the Lord."

These Targums give, individually, the following picture:

Ps Jon 1. mighty in sin (8).
 2. rebel before the Lord (8)
 3. mighty rebel before the Lord (9)
 4. mighty hunter
 5. rebel before the Lord } (9) proverb.

Neo I 1. mighty one (8)
 2. mighty in sin (9)
 3. mighty in sin (9) - proverb.

Neo I M 1. mighty in sin (8)
 2. mighty rebel (8)
 3. mighty in sin (9) }
 4. mighty rebel (9) } - proverb.

FT 1. mighty in hunting (9)
 2. mighty in sin (9)
 3. hunted men in their speech (9)
 4. tried to get men to follow his way (9)
 5. mighty one, mighty hunter, mighty in sin before the Lord -
 proverb.

- TC
1. mighty in sin
 2. shed innocent blood
 3. rebel before the Lord

From the above the following should be noted:

1. TO seems to follow the MT reasonably closely, though in 10:9 it has twice replaced MT's צִיר by תַּקִּיף. John Bowker¹ feels that here תַּקִּיף should be translated 'hard-hearted' or 'severe', and thus translated it would convey the same interpretation of Nimrod as do the other Targums. While the substitution in TO of תַּקִּיף for צִיר is puzzling, for in its present form תַּקִּיף could be regarded almost as a synonym for גִּבּוֹר, thus making the translation of גִּבּוֹר תַּקִּיף rather cumbersome (unless we render it as 'a mighty one who was very powerful', i.e. 'a mighty one par excellence'), there does not seem to be any real need to translate תַּקִּיף as Bowker suggests, because:

(a) the interpretation of Nimrod by the other Targums does not stress his hard-heartedness etc., rather his sin and rebellion;

(b) FT, while it goes on to give the 'sin and rebellion' emphasis, also uses initially the expression גִּבּוֹר תַּקִּיף, but Bowker's translation would fit in most inappropriately here, as FT adds בִּצְיָדָא, and the best translation in this context would therefore be, 'he was a man of exceptional prowess in hunting', i.e. retaining the note of 'powerful' in תַּקִּיף rather than that of 'hard-hearted'.

2. Some of the Targums have a special emphasis the others lack, e.g. FT extends the hunting metaphor to the area of speech, though it should be noted that, like TO, Neo I even when supplemented by M, has

1. p. 180.

completely dropped the 'hunter idea'; TC introduces the idea of shedding innocent blood.

3. Though all the Targums have one feature in common - mighty in sin - and each Targum shares at least one feature with at least one of the others, it cannot be said that any one of them is identical with any other. The two which seem closest are the parts of Ps Jon which correspond to Neo I M, and even they have important differences, as the following will show:

Ps Jon ". . . in sin and to rebel before the Lord in the earth" (8)

Neo I M " in sin and to rebel before the Lord in the earth" (8)

Here the wording is identical, except for two insignificant spelling changes.

Ps Jon "'From the day in which the world was created there has not been like Nimrod a mighty one in hunting and a rebel before the Lord'." (9)

Neo I M "'from the day that the world was created there has not been a mighty one in sin like Nimrod and a rebel against (lit. of) the Lord'."

Here there are two important differences:

(a) Ps Jon has 'a mighty one in hunting and a rebel'.

Neo I M has 'a mighty one in sin . . . and a rebel'.

(b) There is some difference in wording and in word-order:

e.g. 'like Nimrod' comes in different places;

Ps Jon 'rebel before the Lord': Neo I M 'rebel of the Lord'.

Thus, in the two variant readings supplied by Neo I M, the first (v. 8) is largely identical with Ps Jon, but in the second (v. 9) - the proverbial saying - Neo I M and Ps Jon, go slightly different ways in the main clause with changes in wording and word-order.

4. TC omits all reference to the hunter and the proverbial saying, and in so doing remains strictly within the limits of the parallel passage (I Chr. 1:8-10 and Gen. 10:6-8), not going beyond Gen. 10:8. It is quite close to Ps Jon Gen. 10:8, but it does introduce a new element - the 'shedding of innocent blood'.

5. The Targums are reflecting (and perhaps at the same time helping to create) some of the many unfavourable traditions on Nimrod. Nimrod is the rebel par excellence. "Nimrod is the prototype of rebellion against the Almighty".¹ He rebelled himself and caused others to rebel.

The Rabbis and others found the 'rebel' idea twice in the Gen. story:

(a) Ber R. XXVI. 4. R. Simon, examining occurrences of the verb חלל and interpreting it as 'to rebel', answers an objection thus: "He" (i.e. God) "smote Nimrod's head, exclaiming, 'It is he who has incited them to rebel against me'".²

(b) נמרוד is regarded as linked with מרד - 'to rebel'. In b. Pes. 94a-b, in a discussion centring on Isa. 14:14 in which Nebuchadrezzar is regarded as having a great affinity with Nimrod, this 'rebel' emphasis is stressed by R. Johanan b. Zakkai:

יֵצְתָה בַּת קוֹל וְאָמְרָה לוֹ רָשָׁע בֶּן רָשָׁע בֶּן בְּנוֹ שֶׁל
נִמְרוֹד הָרָשָׁע שֶׁהִמְרִיד אֶת כָּל הָעוֹלָם כּוֹלֹ
עָלֵי בִמְלָכוּתוֹ

This bath gol is found also in b. Hag. 13a.

1. EJ, Vol. 12, col. 1167.

2. cf. also Ber R. XXIII. 7.

Pseudo-Philo is aware of a similar tendency in Nimrod. 'Ipse iniciavit esse superbus coram Domino.'¹

Rashi, in his comments on the consecutive verses 10:8, 9, also brings out the **מרד** connection.

On 10:8: להיות גבור. להמריד כל העולם על הקב"ה
בעצת רור הפלגה:

On 10:9: גבור צ"ד. צד דעתך של ²בריות בפיו ומטען
למרור במקום: לכניה'. מתכוין להקניטו על פניו:

The 'rebel streak' is seen constantly in Nimrod's life and conduct.

After he has acquired universal sway he becomes an idolater. He sets himself up as a God and tries to persuade men to give him Divine honour. He builds the tower of Babel, part of the motive being to meet God and defeat Him on His own ground, part to set up idols in heaven. Having read Abraham's birth in the stars, and knowing that Abraham would give the lie to his religion, he massacred the innocents to ensure that Abraham would not survive. He organised this as follows: all mothers-to-be were to come to a guarded house and give birth to their babies; if a daughter were born, the mother would be highly honoured: if a son, he would be killed at birth. In this way, at least 70,000 were murdered. The angels said to God: "Seest Thou not what he doth, yon sinner and blasphemer, Nimrod, son of Canaan, who slays so many innocent babes that have done no harm?" Abraham, however, was delivered, grew up, and with more and more people worshipping Abraham's God, Nimrod felt he had to do something about it. The climax came after Abraham had smashed Nimrod's idols and had been put in prison as a result. He is eventually condemned to be cast into a

1. LAB, IV, 7.

2. cf. Ber. R. XXXVII. 2.

lake of fire, but no one is able to do so, not even with the aid of Satan's catapult; the lake of fire becomes a pleasure garden and Abraham is saved. (TC II 28:3 declares how Abraham was saved by God from the fiery furnace of the Chaldeans because he would not worship an idol.)

In another version of the story, Abraham for much the same reason, is thrown into the furnace and walks for three days and three nights in the midst of the fire and is delivered.¹

The picture of Nimrod thus presented by the Targums (excluding TO) and found scattered throughout Jewish literature is almost entirely of a very wicked man. (For a slight modification in Ps Jon, see next point.)

6. There were also FAVOURABLE traditions about Nimrod, e.g. Ps Jon to Gen. 10:11 suggests that Nimrod emigrated to Assyria because he did not want to have anything to do with the Tower of Babel, and the Lord gave him four cities as compensation for those he had to leave in Babylon.

Ephrem² also speaks well of Nimrod, that he fought for the sake of God against the generation of the building of the Tower: - though Ephrem also mentions that Nimrod began hunting in order to provide food for the Tower-builders.

Abraham Levene³ gives us a further glimpse of Syriac assessment of Nimrod, this time from the Nestorian point of view. Referring to Gen. 10:9, the commentary remarks:

1. The summary in these two paragraphs is abbreviated from GINZBERG, II, 177-217.

2. I 16 a. This reference I owe to GINZBERG, V, 198, note 77.

3. p. 85.

Of Nimrod, Scripture says, - "He was a mighty hunter before the Lord." It was according to the will of God that he should be renowned; and he made war on those who built the Tower and he first captured Babylon. Therefore it is said "be like unto Nimrod" - as when one blesses his neighbour with any kind of blessing.

This runs entirely contrary to the Targumic estimate of Nimrod and the traditions referred to in Para. 5 above. Even the proverbial saying of verse 9 has become a further means of extolling Nimrod.

לפני יהוה becomes in Syriac ܠܦܢܝ ܝܗܘܐ, and this is explained as 'by the will of God'.¹ By contrast, in the Targums, once the note of rebellion had appeared, ܩܪܝܢ almost comes to mean against. Rashi too stresses this, e.g. his comment on Gen. 10:9:

לפני ה' מתכוין להקניטו על פניו. (Though even in Jewish circles there was not total unanimity: Ibn Ezra, e.g. regarded Nimrod in a very favourable light.) What is of special interest in the Syriac commentary is that the author seems to have been completely unaware of the picture of the wicked Nimrod:

(a) from the very matter-of-fact way in which he discusses Nimrod.

There is no polemical tone whatever in the statement; there is no hint that he is trying to counter or to discredit an opposing point of view;

(b) from his discussion of the phrase 'mighty men' in Gen. 6:4.

There² he makes it very clear exactly how he interprets this phrase:

"Mighty men" says Scripture, i.e. mighty in wickedness and self confident and such as despise God'. These words are almost identical in tone to those the Targums use in describing Nimrod! Yet, when he comes to discuss Nimrod, in a case where 'mighty' is the operative word, the interpretation he has used in Gen. 6:4 is in no sense applied to Nimrod.

1. LEVENE, p. 200.

2. LEVENE, p. 81.

It should be stressed that the commentator was not unaccustomed to culling out Biblical personages and using them to illustrate a theme, e.g. in the paragraph preceding the 'mighty men' reference in Gen. 6:4, when he is discussing 'my spirit shall not abide' (Gen. 6:3) he brings forward Caleb and Saul to reinforce his argument.¹ Thus, either at Gen. 6:4 or Gen. 10:8, 9 the commentator had an ideal opportunity to introduce Nimrod as an illustration of the 'mighty man' in its anti-God sense. The fact that he does not do this makes one seriously question if indeed he was aware of this side of Nimrod's character - though Levene is constantly at pains to stress that this group of Syriac Christians and commentators was thoroughly conversant with and able to use and adapt and reshape Rabbinic traditions and interpretations of Scripture in their own way.

It is of interest that this Syriac Commentary's way of handling 'mighty men' at Gen. 6:4 could be said to provide an 'explanatory bridge' in the Targumic treatment of Nimrod. For the Targums, Nimrod was a mighty man - mighty in sin etc. The Commentary shows us how the 'leap' was made - even though its view of Nimrod was entirely different!

Looking at TC in the light of what has been said above, the following points should be noted:

1. TC omits all reference to the 'proverbial saying' in Gen. 10:9, referred to and amplified in Ps Jon, Neo I, Neo I M, FT.
2. TC is exceptionally brief, giving in very summary fashion under two heads, what the other Targums have said at considerable length:

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|
| (a) mighty in sin; | (b) a rebel before the Lord. |
|--------------------|------------------------------|

1. LEVENE, p. 81.

3. TC introduces a third heading, (c) an innocent-blood-shedder.

There are two things to note here:

- (i) A similar expression to TC's שְׂרֵי אֶרֶם זָכָאִי is found also in Ps. 5:7, where for אִישׁ רָמִים of MT the Targ. has אִנְשׁ שְׂרֵי זָכָאִי , and in Deut. 19:13 where for רֵם הַנָּקִי of MT, TO (and Ps Jon with only slight differences) has אִשְׂרֵי רֵם זָכִי .
- (ii) This statement, when applied to Nimrod, has no parallel in the Targums to Gen. 10, but it may refer to the story of the massacre of the innocents, quoted by Ginzberg¹ from the work Ma'aseh Abraham.

There is another massacre connected with Nimrod, which might conceivably also be the object of reference here. In Ps Philo² there is the story of Abraham's being put into the fiery furnace at the instigation of Fenech and Jectan. God, however, sends an earthquake and the resulting spread of the furnace fire leads to the death of all those round about, 83,500 in all.

I feel that it is more likely that TC is referring to the massacre of the children where the 'innocence factor' is much stronger.

There may thus be some kind of link here between TC and Ma'aseh Abraham. To be more specific is difficult. Is TC dependent on Ma'aseh Abraham - if so we have a date reference-point? Or is Ma'aseh Abraham dependent here on TC. Or perhaps TC is referring briefly to a well-known tradition which is found also in Ma'aseh Abraham: indeed this is about all that can be said at this juncture.

4. TC's extreme conciseness may suggest something in the nature of

1. I, 187; and see V, p. 209, note 7, and 212 note 34. In the latter note the reference is to Ma'aseh Abraham, published by Jellinek in BHM, I, 25-34.

2. LAB VI, 14-17.

aides memoire for teachers, or sermon notes, or homiletical allusions for the pious reader of the Targum.

5. Bearing in mind the stress laid by R. Bloch and G. Vermes¹ on the fact that the 'root' of the expansion is usually already present in some way in the scriptural text, this expansion as found variously in the different Targums, presents no difficulty, as the notion of 'rebel' is to be found in the root מרר, with which נמרוד can be linked, at least in appearance. The standard lexicons of Brown, Driver, Briggs, and of Köhler-Baumgartner do not, however, see the connection quite so clearly. They put forward various suggestions linking the name with that of either a Babylonian or an Assyrian god. BDB² notes: 'etym. and meaning wholly unknown'.

6. With the idea of a 'starting-point' in Scripture in the root מרר, it would be ideal if we could then proceed to show how the expansion developed in the various Targums. We would have to begin with Ps Jon and its stress on the 'rebel' idea, then move forward to, say, Neo I, then FT, and a later supplement to Neo I in M. Such a line of development seems too artificial and if there were any such line of development with the expansion growing en route, it would be rather difficult to fit in TC as the end term in the series as it is the shortest of them all. Even if we counter this by saying that it may be the shortest but that in summary fashion it covers a great deal of ground, we are still left with the fact that it has dropped the 'hunting in speech' theme of the FT.

7. A better way of approach might be found by looking at the proverbial saying in Gen. 10:9. Proverbial sayings sometimes show considerable

1. See VERMES, pp. 7-10.

2. p. 650.

regional variations, and the fact that this proverbial saying is quoted in all the Genesis Targums in different forms indicates a basic sameness between the Targums, but the variants which each Targum presents may reflect differences of provenance. From this we could argue that what we have are several Targums from different regions showing their own particular variations and at some time point 'frozen' in writing and preserved. The fact that TC does not allude to the proverb does not affect the argument: if at this point he was striving after conciseness, there was little need to add it as it provides no additional information. But apart from the motive, we are left with the simple fact that TC omits it, and his rendering also bears its own stamp, indicating an individuality whether of person or of region.

8. Looked at from another aspect, one verse reproduced in the Targums in so many different forms, none of which is identical with any other, suggests that, within certain limits, the Targumists must have felt that they had some freedom in the wording of the interpretation of the scriptural text.

TARGUM and PESHITTA

In spite of all that has been said about Targums, about Ephrem, about Syriac commentators, when we turn to the Peshitta the results from a textual point of view are non-existent. Both Gen. 10:8, 9 and I Chr. 1:10 show scant signs of Targumic, or any other, influence except that of MT which seems to be the model on which the translation was based. The only variant between Gen. 10:8 and I Chr. 1:10 is that the **להיות** of MT becomes in Gen. **למשל** and in Chr. **למשל**. The only sign of Targumic influence is in the treatment of **ילד**. All the Targums here are very exact; as **כוש** is Masc., they use the

causative form of the verb, לִבְנָה. This is found also in the Peshitta ܠܒܢܐ. But as this happens very frequently in the genealogies, and is understandable from a translation point of view, there is no need to posit Targumic influence to explain it. If, on the other hand, several of the more significant features of TC were to appear in certain places in PC, one could see the change mentioned as part of the Targumic influence. But whether there is such an influence remains to be seen.

II. I Chr 1:13

BUTHNIAS

MT: "And Canaan became the father of Sidon his first-born . . ."

TC: "And Canaan became the father of Buthnias who built Sidon - he is the first-born of Canaan."

In TC, Sidon the person becomes Sidon the place, and Buthnias is brought in as its builder; but 'his first-born' now sounds strange when referred to a place, so this is rephrased: 'he' (Buthnias, one assumes) 'is the first-born of Canaan'.

The parallel verse is Gen. 10:15, which is identical in MT with Chr., except for a minor spelling variant in Sidon.

No other Targum has any hint of Buthnias except Ps Jon, where Buthnias appears at Gen. 10:19 as a place-name substituted for Sidon. Gen. 10:19 MT "And the border of the Canaanites was from Sidon . . ."

Ps Jon "And the border of the Canaanites was from Buthnias . . ."

Thus, TC seems to adopt the following procedure: when a verse in Chr. (1:13) has a parallel verse (Gen. 10:15) which has no targumic expansion, an expansion to a non-parallel verse (Gen. 10:19) with a similar feature to the Chr. verse (Sidon) is transferred to the Chr. verse (1:13). Or, are there other possibilities? e.g. was there a tradition, which is reflected in TC, of another founder of Sidon? If

so, Josephus is unaware of it: "Chananaeus also had sons, of whom Sidonius built in Phoenecia a city named after him, still called Sidon by the Greeks . . .".¹ Or, is Buthnias the name of a town which has since disappeared?

The real difficulty in the appearance of Buthnias is to explain why Ps Jon should replace a well known name with a lesser known name. The related difficulty with TC is the reference to a city founder of whom no one has heard.

The matter is complicated further by textual problems:

(a) TC MSS V and C read **בוּתְנִיָּאס**. Edition of A. Sperber reads **כוּתְנִיָּאס**.

(b) Ps Jon to Gen. 10:19 Rieder's edition reads **בוּתְנִיָּים**.

Ginsberger's edition reads **כוּתְנִיָּים**.

The comments of S. Krauss² are also not particularly helpful: he reads **כוּתְנִיָּאס** in TC and suggests it may represent **כּוּטְנִיָּאס** in the sense of 'native'; in Gen. 10:19 he reads **כוּתְנִיָּים** which he regards as identical with the **כוּתְנִיָּין** of y. Maaser Sheni IV, 54d, but, as Krauss points out, neither Levy nor Kohut - nor, if we may add, Krauss - is able to give any satisfactory explanation of this latter town.

Jastrow has **בוּתְנִיָּאס, בּוּתְנִיָּיִס (?)** . . . Bothneas, founder of Sidon . . .³

From the above, the following may be noted:

1. Of the Targums, only Ps Jon and TC refer to **בוּתְנִיָּאס**.
2. We have several variant readings and it is difficult to know which to accept.

1. Ant. I, 138

2. MGWJ 3 (1895) 62f.

3. p. 151.

3. There may be a similar name in the Jerusalem Talmud, but (a) the spelling is not identical, (b) the place referred to is unidentified.
4. In TC, **בוֹתְנִיאָס** is a person, in Ps Jon it is a place. Krauss sees the possibility that it may refer to a group of people or a town.
5. The basic problem remains: why should the Targumist replace a well-known name by one that is scarcely known - explaining the known by the unknown, as it were?

Two possible solutions suggest themselves:

- (a) **בוֹתְנִיאָס** may have grown out of a misreading and then a re-writing of **בֹּזְכְרִיָּה**. This would indicate some borrowing by Ps Jon from TC.
- (b) In Gen. 10:9 the question at issue is the mapping out and delineation of a border. Did Ps Jon, for his own reason, choose some scarcely known border town to replace Sidon in 10:19, and when TC borrowed this reference to replace his 1:13 Sidon, he felt a certain uneasiness about replacing a well-known town by a scarcely known or unknown one, and transformed Buthnias into the builder of Sidon, and rephrased the sentence accordingly. This seems to be the more likely possibility.

III. I Chr. 1:19

PELEG

TC "The name of the one was Peleg, because in his days the inhabitants of the earth were divided according to their language". (According to their language is omitted in A. Sperber's edition.)

Neo I ". . . the inhabitants of the earth were divided." (Gen. 10:25)

Neo I M, which so often adds to Neo I, this time subtracts, and gives us the equivalent of the MT, 'the earth was divided'.

MT I Chr. 1:19 "The name of the one was Peleg, because in his days the earth was divided" (= MT Gen. 10:25)

MT leaves certain questions implicit but unanswered:

- (1) What was 'the earth'?
- (2) How was the division made?
- (3) At which point 'in his days' did the division take place?

The Targums answer the first two questions:

- (1) 'the earth' = 'the inhabitants of the earth'.
- (2) the division was made on the basis of language.

Josephus also gives his 'Targum': "Phaleg, who was thus called because he was born at the time of the partition of territories, Phalek being the Hebrew for 'division'".¹ He has given his answer to the third question, though there is no reference to the question of language.

Immediately the question of language is introduced, as in TC alone, the Targumist is linking the division with the story of the tower of Babel, the confusion of tongues, along with the overtones of God's punishment on an evil and proud generation. Peleg appears in several Jewish traditions, but he is not always linked with the problem of language:

1. The Book of Jubilees: here there is some confusion:

(a) VIII. 8-30 gives a description of the division. Verse 8 reads: "And in the sixth year thereof, she bare him a son, and he called his name Peleg; for in the days when he was born the children of Noah began to divide the earth amongst themselves: for this reason he was called Peleg". There follows a secret division worked out by Shem, Ham and Japheth, which is then, apparently, ratified when they draw lots from Noah's bosom. In this account,

- i. the story is closely linked with Peleg and the meaning of his name;
- ii. the division is made purely on the basis of physical geography,
i.e. 'the earth' = the earth;
- iii. language plays no part in the division.

(b) X. 18-27 gives another story of division. Again Peleg is mentioned,

1. Ant. I, 146.

but only as the father of רעו who provides the basis for word-play with רעו signifying 'wicked', and this leads into the story of the wickedness of the people in building a tower with the end result of confusion of languages and division. In this story:

- i. Peleg is mentioned, but only incidentally as Reu's father, with no hint as to the meaning of his (Peleg's) name;
- ii. the 'earth' = the inhabitants of the earth;
- iii. language and division go together;
- iv. the note of wickedness and pride is stressed.

Thus, we have the situation where, in the instance in which much stress is laid on the meaning of Peleg's name, there is no reference to 'inhabitants' or 'language', and in the instance in which there is no reference to the meaning of Peleg's name, the stress is on 'inhabitants' and 'language'.

2. In a work referred to by GINZBERG¹, 'Zawwaat Naphtali', to which I have not had access, Ginzberg quotes Naphtali as warning his sons not to resist God ". . . and not to forget your God, whom your father Abraham chose when the families of the earth were divided in the days of Peleg". The work goes on to describe how the seventy angels taught the seventy languages to the seventy families of Noah, but Abraham chose Hebrew. In this account:

- (a) the division is associated with Peleg and the meaning of his name;
- (b) 'the inhabitants of the earth' are involved;
- (c) the division and the question of language are closely linked.

3. The Babylonian Talmud stresses the 'wickedness' aspect of the affair: b. Ab. Za. 18b, 19a. Part of a saying attributed to R. Samuel b. Nahmani in the name of R. Jonathan refers to אנשי דור

הפלגה שרשעים ה"ר "as it is said, 'Come, let us build a city and a tower, with its top in heaven'. Here Peleg, by implication, is linked with the Division, which is related to the tower, and which therefore inevitably brings in the language question. In this

1. II, 214; V, 380, note 14.

reference, the stress is on the wickedness of the men of the division, and the link between Peleg, the division and the language is more implicit than explicit.

4. Ber. R. XXXVII. 7 is primarily concerned to discuss exactly when in Peleg's lifetime the division was made, an attempt to answer Question 3 above. The alternatives are either at his birth, or later on in his life. There is some confusion here: if we include the words in square brackets in the Soncino edition of Freedman and Simon, it is later on in his life, and Eber is regarded as being able to avail himself of the Holy Spirit and is called a great prophet in that he is able to call his son after an incident which is to happen later on in his son's life. Ginzberg's reading of this paragraph however leads him to regard the division as taking place at the time of Peleg's birth (cf. Jubilees)¹.

From what has been said above, the following may be noted:

(a) Here we have an instance where the 'expansion' process has already begun in MT.

(b) The Targumic expansions are found only in TC and Neo I, and, surprisingly, Neo I M wants to redress the balance and return to MT.

(c) The Targums answer the questions implicit in MT:

1. Neo I answers the question, What was 'the earth'?

2. TC answers the question, How was the division made?

(d) Question 3 (When did the division take place?) is answered in various ways, e.g. in Jubilees and in Ber. R.

(e) TC may be depending here on Jubilees. But the problems listed above in connection with its account make this unlikely unless we assume that TC has telescoped the two 'division stories'.

1. V, 193, note 69.

IV. I Chr. 1:19JOKTAN

TC "Joktan, because in his days the years of the sons of men began to be cut off because of their sins."

The expansion occurs in none of the Genesis Targums.

The root of the expansion, if it is to be found in the biblical text, must somehow be linked with קטן, because there is no other word available. The suggestion of Le Déaut¹ is that the link is with the similar sounding קטן to cut, to cut off, a form of which is used in the expansion, קטן.

A similar view is found in Yashar Noah,² though there is no mention of 'sins' as the reason for the cutting off.

Two further questions require examination:

1. Are there other 'expansions' on Joktan?
2. Was Joktan a great sinner, or is TC merely suggesting that he happened to live at the time that men's lives were shortened because of sin but that he was not necessarily the great sinner?

1. We find another expansion in Ber. R. VI. 4. "R. Aha said: Why was he called Joktan? Because he humbled himself. What did he earn thereby? He was privileged to beget thirteen families." Here Joktan is being used as an illustration of the theme 'He that humbles himself shall be exalted'. We have almost the same wording in XXXVII. 7 as in VI. 4. Rashi follows much the same line commenting on Gen. 10:25, though his treatment of קטן in 9:24, where he regards it as equivalent to 'vile', 'despised', if applied to Joktan, could turn him into someone worse than Uriah Heep!

1. I, 40, note 12.

2. Yashar Noah 17a; reference from GINZBERG, I, 172 and V, 193, note 70.

2. From what has been said in the preceding paragraph, the picture given to us of Joktan is not that of a rogue or a vagabond or a sinner: quite the reverse. And in Ps. Philo he is portrayed as a very noble character. He is made a prince for the descendants of Shem, and, when Abraham refuses to take part in the building of the tower and is in serious trouble as a result, it is the God-fearing Joktan who tries to save him and enable him to escape.¹ Thus, we have no suggestion of Joktan as the great sinner - he shares the lot of humanity whose days are shortened because of sin - a view reflected in the early chapters of Gen. (cf. 3:19; 6:7), and rather neatly expressed in Ber. R. VIII. 11 "if he sins, he will die; while if he does not sin, he will live".

We have a similar comment in Tg. Ruth 1:5, where we are told that the days of Mahlon and Chilion were cut off, אֶתְּקַטְעוּ יְמֵי הָרוּם, because of their sin in marrying into foreign nations. But we have no suggestion of such a sin in the case of Joktan.

From the above we may note:

- (a) The expansion is based on a verb with a similar sound to the name in the text.
- (b) Of the Targums, only TC has an expansion.
- (c) Apart from Yashar Noah, TC's expansion is not found elsewhere, though Ber. R. records an expansion based on another root.
- (d) The fact that the less likely approach has been taken (i.e. קִטְעַן instead of קָטַן) in TC is a good example of how the Targumist could manipulate the text in such a way as to put across the appropriate homiletical point.

1. V, 17; VI, 1-14.

V. I Chr. 1:20ALMODAD

TC "Almodad, who measured and divided the earth with ropes."

Ps Jon Gen. 10:26 "Almodad, who measured the earth with ropes".

The other Targums have no expansion.

The basis for the expansion in TC and Ps Jon seems to be found by extracting three letters from the name אלמורדר to give מדרך to measure (Heb), though in the expansion the Aramaic verb משחך to measure, anoint, is used.

I can find no reference to Almodad in other Jewish works and I am thus left with several unanswered questions:

(a) What was the purpose of the measuring? Was it in some way associated with judgement?

(b) What was the purpose of TC's extension 'and divided'? Divided into what? lands? countries? provinces? The verb used here is as in 1:19, פלגך. But, in 1:19, a division had already taken place. Why now a further division in TC using the same verb? Is there any reference to allotment of lands, or slavery, or taxes? Or should one translate ארצא here as land rather than earth?

From the above, the following may be noted:

- (a) The root of the expansion is already present in the Biblical text.
- (b) Of the Targums, only Ps Jon and TC have an expansion, and the expansion in TC seems to be an extension of that in Ps Jon. (Though having said this, one must constantly bear in mind that the shorter form is not necessarily the older.)
- (c) I have no further information on Almodad, and the details of the expansion in both Targums remain obscure.

שֶׁלֶף רָשַׁלְךָ יָם נְהָרוֹתָא לְתַחֲוִמָּיָא

TC "Sheleph, who drew the rivers into his domain"

Ps Jon Gen. 10:26 "Sheleph, who drew the waters of the rivers."

The basis of the expansion is in the name שֶׁלֶף - שֶׁלַח: to draw.

The above translation of TC presupposes לְתַחֲוִמָּיָא, which is what Jastrow suggests¹, but there is no textual ground for this reading. If Jastrow is correct, the meaning would seem to be that he diverted the courses of the rivers primarily to irrigate his own land. The literal translation of the text as it stands, is: "Who drew the rivers to the borders/domain". This implies that Sheleph did this primarily to deprive his neighbours of water. Le Déaut² thinks the sense is even better if we take תַּחֲוִמָּיָא as borders = courses, i.e., "who diverted the rivers according to their courses", though the meaning of the clause as thus translated is even more difficult to grasp, as rivers normally flow according to their courses without any need of diversion.

Ps Jon's reading "who diverted the waters of the rivers" is neutral - no suggestion is made as to purpose: that he leaves us to infer. Perhaps TC is taking Ps Jon a stage further, and giving an answer to his implied question, but leaving us equally confused.

Thus, from the above:

- (a) The root of the expansion is already present in the biblical text.
- (b) Of the Targums, only Ps Jon and TC have an expansion, and the expansion in TC seems to be an extension of that in Ps Jon.
- (c) It is difficult to understand exactly the meaning of TC's expansion.

1. p. 1587.

2. I, 40.

VII I Chr. 1:20HAZARMAWETH

TC "Hazarmaweth, who prepared a place of ambush to kill passers-by."

There is no expansion in any of the Genesis Targums.

The root of the expansion is in the total meaning of the word, which is split into two components חצר מות, "courtyard of death", (cf. Mishnaic Heb. cemetery¹): Here, Hazarmaweth is the name of a man, who prepares an ambush, and the suggestion is that for the passers-by the ambush was indeed their 'courtyard of death', the place which led to their death.

Ber. R. XXXVII. 8 has the same morbid approach but the emphasis is rather different: Hazarmaweth is a town. "R. Huna said: It refers to a place called Hazar Maweth, where people eat leeks, wear garments of papyrus, and hope daily for death. Samuel said: They did not even have garments of papyrus.". The suggestion clearly is that this was a place where lived those who were about to die.

Thus, from the above:

- (a) The root of the expansion is found in the total meaning of the word in the text.
- (b) Of the Targums, the expansion is found only in TC.
- (c) The only other reference to the name is in Ber. R., where the emphasis is rather different.

VIII. I Chr. 1:20JARACH

TC "Jarach, who set up inns and all who went in to eat and drink he gave them to eat a deadly poison and he took everything they had."

(For מוכיל, C reads מוביל, but this makes no basic difference to the sense.)

1. JASTROW, p. 496.

There is no expansion to be found in the Genesis Targums.

Jarach is the innkeeper-poisoner-robber (not unlike his predecessor, Hazarmaweth!), but it is very difficult to see the connection between the name given and the activities listed.

Biblical Hebrew: יָרַח = new moon, month.
 יָרֵחַ = moon
 אָרַח = to journey, travel, wander.

Aramaic: אַרַח = to journey, travel, take lodging. Tg Jud. 19:17
 אַרְחָא = traveller, guest.

There seem to be three possibilities:

1. There is some word play between יָרַח and אַרְחָא (cf. יָקָטַן and קָטַע) linking the name with the idea of lodging, guest, etc.

2. Beck¹ links it with Jericho, יֵרֵחוֹ , which he somehow associates with a robbers' cave. Le Déaut remarks that Beck does not cite any source for such an interpretation, but is it not possible that Jericho may have been a notorious hide-out for robbers? May not this be one of the reasons why Jesus told the Good Samaritan story in the way he did? A. Plummer² notes that "it was near Jericho that Pompey destroyed strongholds of Brigands" and he refers to Strabo, Geogr. xvi. 2. 41.

3. Le Déaut³ wants to link it with YERAKH, a town at the southernmost tip of Lake Tiberias, though he does not give any grounds for such a connection, apart from the similarity of the two words.

Thus, from the above:

(a) The root of the expansion may be in the word יָרַח , but it is very difficult to find.

(b) Of the Targums, only TC gives the expansion.

1. LE DÉAUT, I, 41, note 16.

2. St. Luke (ICC) p. 286, note 1.

3. I, 41, note 16.

IX. I Chr. 1:23OPHIR

TC "Ophir, a place where gold is mined."

There are no expansions at the parallel verse (10:29) in the Genesis Targums.

In TC, Ophir, the son of Joktan, has become Ophir, a place, and as Ophir must have become almost synonymous with gold (cf. I Ki. 10:11; Job 22:24), it was natural, if perhaps a little superfluous, for the Targumist, to record the association.

X. I Chr. 1:23HAVILAH

TC "Hawilah, a place where jewels are mined"

There are no expansions at the parallel verse (Gen. 10:29) in the Gen. Targums.

Again, as with Ophir, Joktan's son Hawilah, has become a place, and as one of the places of that name in the OT was famous for its precious stones (see Gen. 2:11), the Targumist records the association.

XI. I Chr. 1:24SHEM

TC "Shem, the great priest."

כהנא רבא

In MT, the section dealing with the ten generations from Shem to Abraham (I Chr. 1:24-27) is a ruthless abbreviation of a much longer section in Gen. (11:10-32). In Chr. Shem is mentioned merely as the first name in the list, whereas in Gen. (10:10f) various statistics are given about his age, etc.

In the Targums at the parallel verses in Gen. there is no expansion, but it may be that here TC is following the same procedure as he adopted in dealing with Sidon, i.e. he transfers material from a non-parallel verse or verses and inserts it at the verse in Chr.

The expansion in TC is normally regarded as a transference to Shem of certain characteristics associated with Melchizedek¹. I should like, therefore, to examine in detail how this happened, why it happened, and if indeed this is the question at issue in the expansion in TC.

Melchizedek is mentioned twice in the Old Testament:

- (a) Gen. 14:18-20; (b) Ps. 110:4.

In each of these passages his role as a priest is stressed.

In pre-Christian times we are not particularly aware of any discussion or embarrassment caused by Melchizedek's appearance or by his relationship to Abraham.

Around the beginning of the Christian era there are four non-biblical references to Melchizedek:

1. PHILO (1st Century A.D.) refers to him three times.²

In De Abr §235 Melchizedek is the 'great priest' (μέγας ἱερεὺς) of the 'greatest God' (μεγίστου Θεοῦ). Though he adds additional details to the Gen. 14 story, the important thing from our point of view is that Melchizedek is so impressed by Abraham's victory that he regards it as God-given, raises his hands to heaven in prayer, offers victory sacrifices, and "rejoices in Abraham's victory as though it were his own".³

In Leg. Alleg. III, §§79-82 God has made Mel 'king of peace' and 'his own priest'. The interpretation becomes allegorical and Melchizedek becomes the Logos.

2. GENESIS APOCRYPHON (1st Century B.C. or A.D.) has some minor

1. LE DÉAUT, I, 41, note 17.

2. For full details see HORTON, pp. 55ff, to whom I am indebted for several of the details in the following paragraphs.

3. HORTON, p. 56.

additions in its rendering of Gen. 14:18-20, but they do not concern us here.

3. 11Q MELCHIZEDEK. (Horton dates palaeography and composition not far from 50 A.D.) This work is made up of a number of small fragments which makes reading and comprehension difficult. "Of the extant portions of the text there is not a single line which can be read in its entirety without reconstruction"¹. This fact must make one cautious in any pronouncement. But it is clear that here Melchizedek plays a more-than-human role: ". . . the author considered Melchizedek to be a superior being of some sort who will appear at the end of the days to bring atonement for the sons of light and who is the direct opponent of Belial."²

4. JOSEPHUS (1st Century A.D.) mentions Melchizedek in his War VI, 438, and Antiquities I, 179-181. In War, Melchizedek's reputation is considerably enhanced, he is made a temple-builder, and, because he is a righteous king, becomes a priest. In Antiquities Melchizedek is so delighted at Abraham's victory that he showers lavish hospitality on him and his army. In the midst of the feast he praises Abraham and blesses God for his help to Abraham. In response to these gifts and glowing tributes Abraham gives him a tithe of the spoil. "Now this Melchizedek hospitably entertained Abraham's army, providing abundantly for all their needs, and in the course of the feast, he began to extol Abraham and to bless God for having delivered his enemies into his hand. Abraham then offered him the tithe of the spoil, and he accepted the gift."³

1. HORTON, p. 73.

2. HORTON, p. 79.

3. Ant. I, 181.

These four 1st Century A.D. documents treat Melchizedek as a priest, as a larger-than-life figure, as the Logos, as a friend of Abraham. Apart from one instance we have no hint that any of these writers was aware of an acute problem presented by Melchizedek's relationship to Abraham - indeed, quite the reverse, for, - possibly because he is the first priest mentioned in the Bible - he is thought of (perhaps) as the first priest from whom all priesthood derives. We have this feeling of 'firstness' and 'uniqueness', especially in Josephus' War. It may be (and this is the 'one instance' referred to above) that between his writing the War and his writing the Antiquities, doubts had been expressed about Abraham's offering the tithe, for, in the Antiquities the tithe is presented almost as a mutual exchange of gifts and goodwill in the midst of festivities. In so shifting the emphasis, Josephus may be trying to remove the suggestion that Abraham is in any way inferior to or dependent on Melchizedek.

One additional argument for a 'happy' relationship between Melchizedek and Abraham, i.e. that the tithe-giving had created no problem in the pre-Christian centuries, may lie in the unaltered 'he' or 'him' of Gen. 14:20. No attempt was made by exegetes or translators to alter the ambiguous 'he'/'him':

. ויתן לו מעשר מכל

Here LXX agrees with MT. If this verse had constituted a problem surely the change would have been made, and by substituting proper names for the personal pronouns, Melchizedek would have been seen as offering the tithe to Abraham, just as, in the reverse direction, ARSV has changed 'he' to 'Abram':

This leads us to the heart of the problem involved in Gen. 14:20 - Who gave whom the tithe? If the subject is Abraham, as seems to have been generally accepted, we have the following picture: a non-Jewish



priest blesses a Jew, indeed the Jew, who in return gives him a gift, i.e. pays for the blessing, or at least acknowledges the superiority of the other partner. This story could therefore be interpreted as invalidating the Jewish priesthood, or at least as acknowledging its inferiority.

It would seem that this remained only a potential problem so far as Judaism was concerned, and that it became a real problem and a source of great embarrassment only when the Christians picked up this text and, in conjunction with Ps. 110, used it as a very powerful weapon with which to downgrade the Jewish priesthood and at the same time enhance the priesthood of Christ. We see this being done especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the writer selects and develops various aspects of the Gen. 14:18-20 story - lack of genealogy, giving of tithe, and 'the blessing' - to show the superiority of Christ's priesthood and work over all Jewish institutions.¹

The Church Fathers carried this argument on:

"In general the function of Melchizedek for the church fathers was that of a priest of the uncircumcision, a priesthood carried on through Christ. For them the Aaronical or Levitical priesthood was subordinate to the more inclusive priesthood of Melchizedek, and the priesthood of Christ once again took up this former, greater priesthood of Melchizedek. This priesthood is understood as being continued in the priesthood of the church."²

To prevent such arguments making headway among the faithful, Judaism had to deal effectively with an ancestorless, non-Jew, who was regarded as being superior to Abraham, and whose current presence and interpretation were in danger of discrediting one of Judaism's most

1. For a careful discussion of this see J. A. FITZMYER, "Now This Melchizedek . . ." CBO 25 (1963) 305-321, now in Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament, 1971, pp. 221-243, esp. pp. 233-243.

2. HORTON, p. 88f.

sacred institutions. Judaism's answer was to equate Melchizedek with Shem, the son of Noah. As to when this identification took place we are not certain, but there are some pointers. The Targums, excluding TO, make the identification by simple statement rather than by argument: at Gen. 14:18, we find the following:

Ps Jon "And Melchizedek, who is Shem the son of Noah. . ."

Neo I (and M) "And Melchizedek, king of Jerusalem, he is Shem the great . . ."

FT "And Melchizedek, king of Jerusalem, who is Shem the great . . ."

This dealt very thoroughly with the problem of ancestry and 'Jewishness'. J. A. Fitzmyer remarks¹ "By equating Melchizedek with Shem, the rabbinical tradition thus incorporated him into the Israelite nation and provided him with a genealogy; see Gen. 10:1; 11:10-26.

C. Spicq . . . points out that the haggadah identified Melchizedek with Shem, the eldest son of Noah, because from Adam to Levi the cult was supposed to have been cared for by the first-born." J. Bowker² puts it thus: "Melchizedek, by being identified with Shem, was brought firmly inside the Jewish fold, and thus no priesthood was admitted outside Judaism".

Can any date be given to this identification - e.g. by a non-Targum reference-point? The most helpful is to be found in b. Ned. 32b, where we have comments attributed to R. Ishmael ben Elisha "R. Zechariah said on R. Ishmael's authority: The Holy one, blessed be He, intended to bring forth the priesthood from Shem, as it is written, And he was the priest of the most high God. כיון שהקדים ברכת אברהם

1. op. cit., p. 230, note 32.

2. p. 198.

לברכת המקום הוציאה מאברהם . . . Hence it is written,

And he was a priest of the most High God, (implying that) he was a priest, but not his seed." Here the identification is clearly made, but there is added the statement that it was God's intention to derive the priesthood from Shem (= Melchizedek), but because he had erred in blessing Abraham before he blessed God, the priesthood passed to Abraham.

J. Bowker¹ notes that in order to make an effective reply to the Christians, the Jews "made some attempt to reduce the character of Melchizedek to human size". The same point is made by R. Travers Herford,² who sees in the 'depreciation of Melchizedek' in b. Ned. 32b an argument against certain Gnostics as well as the Christian readers of Heb. While part of the answer of the Jews to the Christians may have been to relegate Melchizedek somewhat (and we may have hints of this in TO and Ps Jon, where Melchizedek is not called a priest, but the word מַשְׁחֵה is used instead), surely the other aspect of the Melchizedek-Shem equation should not be lost sight of, i.e. to bring him within the Jewish fold and to give him a good genealogy, and therefore to give him a better, i.e. a more orthodox status. There are of course also some rather derogatory remarks about Shem in Jewish literature, e.g. Ruth R. VIII. 1, which implies that descent from Shem had something dishonourable about it. But this is attributed to R. Abba b. Kahana, third century, and may reflect some later controversy. But in spite of these problems, the identification was made. Horton's summary³ is particularly concise: "Whatever the reasons for this identification, the identification of Melchizedek with Shem had already

1. p. 197. cf. HORTON, p. 123.

2. Christianity in Talmud and Midrash, (1903), pp. 338-340.

3. HORTON, p. 118.

been made by the first third of the second century A.D., as is shown by several quotations from R. Ishmael ben Elisha, the contemporary and exegetical opponent of R. Akiba (ca 110-135)".

We have the identification presupposed also in Midr. Teh. on Ps. 37:1, referring to the feeding of the animals in the ark; Melchizedek turns out to be one of the sons of Noah doing the actual feeding, and it is reasonable to assume that the son referred to is Shem.

We have the identification made, "Therefore, Melchizedek was Shem", and reasons given for it in Midr. Teh. on Ps. 76:3.

It is difficult to date these last two references, as Midr. Teh., in its earlier part was probably finally put together between the seventh and ninth centuries or later.¹

Although Horton finds no evidence for the view that the Melchizedek-Shem identification was part of the Jewish answer to the skilful use by the Christians of an ancestorless, non-Jew, I feel that the pre-Christian silence on the matter, followed by the identification being found in various places in mid-second century can be better explained by the presence or the sudden emergence of some need to make the identification, and, as R. Travers Herford implies, the use of Melchizedek in Heb. seems to provide that need.

When we turn to Syriac-speaking Christianity, we discover that Aphrahat was aware of the Melchizedek-Abraham problem,² and that although Ephrem expressed some non-New Testament ideas on the priesthood, he also expressed views on the priesthood very close to those of Heb. Murray notes that "he also follows a midrashic tradition, found already

1. BOWKER, p. 89.

2. MURRAY, p. 50.

in the Palestinian Targum, that Melchizedek is Noah's son, Shem".¹

Whether he accepts this identification or not it is difficult to say, as he prefaces his statement with "they say", though Murray gives the impression that Ephrem does accept it.

The Syrian Fathers, in Levene's study, are obviously aware of the problem and present a very novel solution to it. They so shift the emphasis as to give a different interpretation of the text and maintain that Melchizedek merely stated that Abraham was already blessed: "When he blessed Abraham, he did not say, 'Blessed art thou of the Lord', or 'The Lord bless thee', but he said to him, before those who stood by, 'Blessed be Abram of God Most High etc.'; as one might say, 'I know already that Abram is blessed and meet to be blessed of God who made heaven and earth, and does not need my blessing.'".²

Before preceeding further, I should like to sum up the results produced from non-Targumic evidence which may be used as date reference-points for the Targums. The Genesis Targums (and probably TC), excluding TO, tell us that Melchizedek = Shem. We find this mentioned in:

1. b. Ned 32b, where the identification is attributed to R. Ishmael ben Elisha, whose dates are usually given as 120-140.
2. Ephrem refers to it as in the Palestinian Targum (Ephrem 306-373).

If we take Heb. as pre 95, the Melchizedek statements in Heb. produce a Jewish response of which we have evidence 120-140, and confirmation that it was in Pal Targ in fourth Century. Thus these Pal

1. p. 180.

2. LEVENE, pp. 87f.

Targ references to Melchizedek = Shem could be dated from say 130 A.D. on, and not until after 95.

So far the emphasis has been on Melchizedek's being equated with Shem to ensure that the Christian use of Melchizedek in downgrading the Jewish priesthood did not triumph. This confers Jewish pedigree on Melchizedek and makes Shem a priest. It is this last statement, however, which provokes a further query: Does it make Shem a priest? OR, was Shem already regarded as a priest, and therefore proved to be a very fitting and convenient character with whom to equate Melchizedek?

The story of TAMAR may provide part of the answer to this latter question. In Gen. 38, we have the story of Judah's marriage to a Canaanite, Bath-Shua, and the birth of his two sons, Er and Onan, his first-born taking Tamar as wife and soon leaving her a widow. Judah does not deal very nobly with her and in due course she acts as a prostitute and becomes pregnant by him, giving birth to twins, the former of whom, Perez, becomes an ancestor of David (Ruth 4:18-22). Judah's part in the affair is not very edifying, but Tamar as the unfairly-treated-one became highly respected as the ancestress of David - or, should one say, because she became the ancestress of David she became highly respected and more and more was seen as the 'innocent party'.¹ As such an ancestress, there was no doubt the desire to ensure that her pedigree was flawless. Gen. 38 gives her no genealogy - like Melchizedek! - but this the Rabbis provide and Shem is the one chosen to fill the gap. He is the father of Tamar.² But why was Shem chosen?

1. Was he chosen because he was already a priest, and - taking Lev. 21:9 and Gen. 38:24 together - only a priest could be her father?

1. See b. Meg. 10b.

2. Ber. R. LXXXV. 10; Bem. R. XIII. 4.

If so, how had Shem become a priest? Vay. R. XX. 1 gives us the occasion, if not the reason, in the name of R. Eliezer (A.D. 140-65): a lion maimed Noah, and Shem had to take his place in offering the sacrifices. If we accept that it was the Melchizedek-Abraham problem which had made him a priest, then possibly the Tamar problem post-dates the Melchizedek-Shem equation. But this still leaves unexplained why in the first instance, Shem had been chosen as the other part of the Melchizedek equation. Perhaps the idea of the first-born caring for the cult as mentioned by Spicq¹ above provides the answer.

2. Was Shem chosen as father, and then, having been chosen, it was necessary - in view of Gen. 38:24 and Lev. 21:9 - to make him a priest? And, in due course, when the Melchizedek problem arose, he was already a priest which made the Melchizedek-Shem equation much simpler. Again, this raises the question as to why he was chosen as father. Perhaps it was because Tamar needed a highly esteemed father and Shem was in this category. This approach implies that the Tamar problem predated the Melchizedek affair.

3. Was Shem, in Rabbinic tradition, regarded as a priest, for reasons unknown? At different times, the Melchizedek problem and the Tamar search for a father, used Shem quite independently, simply because he was a priest, and in each case, the nature of the problem required one who had priestly status.

To me, number 1 seems the most probable:

(a) If we accept that there was controversy over Melchizedek because of the Heb. treatment of him, it is only natural that a 'big

1. See note 1 on p.53.

name' within the Faith would be able to deal with it adequately, and where better to go than to Shem, especially if there were already some suggestion as to his 'priest-potentiality' as the first-born, this potentiality being fully realised by the identification with Melchizedek.

(b) If any dating in these areas can be regarded as reliable,¹ the statement attributed to R. Ishmael in b. Ned. 32b (where it is made clear that Melchizedek and Shem have been identified and Shem is clearly regarded as a priest) is in the 120-140 period. The earliest statement about Tamar, however, is attributed to R. Meir, 140-165.² But this is not very conclusive.

To return, however, to I Chr. 1:24, and to try to sum up:

(a) Shem appears three times in I Chr. 1 (1:4, 17, 24). In the first two references his name is given without further comment. It is only in 1:24 that an addition the great priest is given.

(b) This addition could be simply a reference to the priestly role exercised by Shem - and nothing more. Yet, when Shem as a priest is mentioned in Jewish tradition it is normally in a 'Melchizedek' or in a 'Tamar' context. If TC were referring here only to the Tamar affair, it is unlikely that the adjective 'great' would be added, and further, in the Gen. 14:18-20 Targums, i.e. in a 'Melchizedek' context, we are very conscious of the Shem 'the great' emphasis. I would conclude, therefore, that the reference is primarily to Melchizedek - though TC may have had the context of Tamar in mind, but secondarily.

1. The question of dating and attribution of sayings are closely related, and bearing in mind the comments by J. NEUSNER, The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism (1973), pp. 3-5 and by L. JACOBS, "How much of the Babylonian Talmud is Pseudepigraphic?" JJS, XXVIII (1977), 46-59, statements on dating must be treated with caution unless there are external criteria.

2. Ber. R. LXXXV. 10.

(c) The Gen. passage on which this section of Chr. is based, does not have these comments on Shem in the Targums; the Shem-Melchizedek equation is made in the Gen. Targums (less TO) in the section dealing with Melchizedek. As Melchizedek, however, does not appear in the MT of Chr., it is natural for the matter to be referred to in TC under the heading of 'Shem'.

(d) It is difficult to talk about TC being dependent on any of the Targums listed in (c) above, because the TC expansion is so brief, and because the equation was so widely known. But it is to be noted that only TC, Neo I, and FT have the priest emphasis, and it is only Philo who has exactly the same expression as TC, כהנא רבא - μέγας ἱερεὺς :

XII. I Chr. 1:43

BELA

MT "Bela, son of Beor, and the name of his city was Dinhabah."

TC "Balaam, son of Beor, the wicked, i.e. Laban the Aramean, who allied himself with the sons of Esau in order to destroy Jacob and his sons, and he sought to destroy them, and he ruled over Edom, and the name of the capital city of his kingdom was Dinhabah, which was given to him as a gift."

In TC, Bela has become Balaam, about whom we are told the following:

1. he was wicked;
2. he was Laban, the Aramean;
3. he linked up with the sons of Esau to destroy Jacob and his sons;
4. he ruled over Edom;
5. his capital, Dinhabah, was given to him as a gift.

1. To appreciate fully the picture of Balaam in TC, we must first look at the picture given to us in MT. In the Old Testament¹ Balaam is depicted in a not unfavourable light. Indeed, Balak, king of Moab, who asked Balaam to curse Israel, emerges as the much more sinister

1. Num. 22-24; 31:8, 16; Deut. 23:5f; Jos. 13:22; 24:9-10; Neh. 13:2; Mic. 6:5.

figure. Yet, when Balaam appears in certain Jewish traditions, he is a very wicked man. G. Vermes¹, however, points out that the picture of Balaam the Villain has its origins in the Old Testament - in the latest stratum of the Hexateuch, the P stratum. "It" (i.e. the portrait of Balaam the Villain) "is almost entirely based on the P supplement to the episode, namely the killing of Balaam and his responsibility for Israel's sin with the Moabite women".² This part we find in Num. 31:8, 16; Jos. 13:22. With this as their starting point the Rabbis completely transformed the character of Balaam into that of a shiftless, evil-minded, vicious hater of Israel. Just as Abraham personifies so much that is good, Balaam personifies much that is evil. For example, in m. Ab. 5.19, in one paragraph he is referred to four times as "Balaam the wicked" in contrast to (the virtuous) "Abraham our father". Each of Balaam's actions, however innocent, is twisted to his discredit, e.g. in Num. 22:21 we read "And Balaam rose up in the morning and saddled his ass". This simple, 'neutral' act is compared, in the Babylonian Talmud³, with a similar simple, 'neutral' act of Abraham in Gen. 22:3, and is then used to denigrate Balaam's action as springing from a motive of hate, in contrast to that of Abraham, where the motive is one of love. One authority is, in fact, quoted in the Talmud,⁴ as instructing that Biblical passages relating to Balaam are to be interpreted to his disadvantage. This dominant aspect in the Rabbis' estimate of Balaam, i.e. his wickedness, is reflected also in the three New Testament references to him, (II Pet. 2:15, 16; Jude 11; Rev. 2:14), where he is regarded as almost a prototype of certain kinds

1. pp. 126-177, especially 173ff.

2. VERMES, p. 175.

3. b. Sanh. 105b.

4. Mar b. Rabina, b. Sanh. 106b.

of evil. Rather like the treatment accorded to Judas by the New Testament writers, the Rabbis found it difficult to mention his name without attributing some kind of evil to him. As Vermes¹ puts it:

"In the eyes of these interpreters, Balaam is the personification of cupidity, pride and hatred . . . He is the Wicked Man par excellence, and the fact that God addressed him as a prophet only increases his guilt . . . Every word and gesture of Balaam, however apparently innocuous, is interpreted unfavourably by the commentators. Wicked are all the thoughts, aims, words and deeds of Balaam the Villain."

2. and 3. Balaam's wickedness is underlined in TC, by his being identified with "Laban the Aramean", an identification which is more explicit in Ps Jon to Num. 22:5², in which however, the positions are reversed: "And he sent messengers to Laban the Aramean, i.e. Balaam, who sought to swallow up the people of the house of Israel". In Ps Jon to Num. 31:8, when Phinehas meets Balaam shortly before he kills him, he challenges him with this identification: "Art thou not Laban, the Aramean, who didst seek to kill Jacob our father? Then thou didst go down into Egypt to destroy his descendants. And when they had come up out of Egypt, thou didst stir up against them the wicked Amalekites.". In this Egypt-Amalekites reference we have reflected the tradition that Balaam had been in Egypt, and, as one of Pharaoh's counsellors, had advised the destruction of the male children of the Hebrews,³ and that, thwarted in Egypt, he had incited the Amalekites (descendants of Esau) to accomplish what he had failed to achieve.⁴

In view of the fact that the expansion in TC is based primarily on Bela (MT בֶּלַע), we might have expected TC, in converting it to

1. p. 174.

2. cf. b. Sanh. 105a.

3. See also Shem. R. XXVII, 3, 6. GINZBERG, II, 256, where he quotes from Yashar Shemot, 128a-130b. See also b. Soṭ. 11a.

4. cf. Est. R. VII. 13.

בלעם, to have brought out, either directly or indirectly in the expansion, a clear indication of the derivation from בלע (Aramaic) (בלע) to swallow up. This is done in Ps Jon to Num. 22:5, "Balaam, who sought to swallow up the people, the house of Israel" בלעם רבעה למבלוע ית עמא בית ישראל. But there is no hint of it; indeed the verbs used in the expansion in TC are חבל and אבד.

This may be an indication of the secondary nature of the expansion in TC, i.e. that it has moved away from the 'foundation-pillars' of the expansion as found in the more explicit, and therefore (perhaps) more original form of Ps Jon to Num. 22:5.

4. he ruled over Edom: a rather gratuitous statement, as we have been told already at the beginning of the verse that he was a king of Edom. It should be noted that not all scholars regard the change from בלע to בלעם as a later Jewish exegetical development; some see no difficulty in equating the בלע בן בעור of I Chr. 1:43 (= Gen. 36:31) with the בלעם בן בעור of Num. 22:5, e.g. Curtis¹ comments "The name is so similar to 'Balaam the son of Beor' (Num. 22-24) that some have regarded the two persons as identical (EBi I col. 524, Gray, Nu. p. 324)". We may have a hint of the Balaam-Bela equation in the MS tradition of Pesh. to Num. 23:7, where in the statement

6 b 1 and 12 b 2 read אִיִּי for אִיִּי.²

5. His capital city was Dinhabah, which was given to him as a gift. This seems to be an attempt to link the name רנהבה with the root יהב to give. Curtis simply notes "Location unknown"³, and I am unable to find any reference as to when this may have been given to him as a gift, or as a fee for divination or whatever!

1. p. 77.

2. I owe this reference to Dr A. P. Hayman.

3. p. 77.

Before attempting to sum up this long expansion on Bela, reference may be made in passing to the small expansion which occurs in I Chr. 1:43 and elsewhere in this section (I Chr. 1:43-54) in TC, and in Ps Jon in the parallel section of Gen. 36:31-43: "His city" becomes "the city of the house of his kingdom", i.e. his capital.

Looking at the Bela expansion in TC, the following should be noted:

(a) In the Gen. Targums to the parallel section (Gen. 36:31-43), there is no suggestion of Bela and Balaam being regarded as the same person, except in a variant reading in Ps Jon Gen. 36:32 בלעם (Rieder's edition), which is the reading accepted by Ginsberger. This may indicate that the expansions etc. on Balaam belonged originally to the Num. context and were not transferred to Bela in Gen. because the identification had not been made; later, however, the identification was made in TC (or in the tradition which TC reflects), and with the new name Balaam came also from Ps Jon to Num. 22 some of the traditions which had grown up around that name. This may receive some support:

(i) from the 'secondary character' of the TC expansion already noted¹, i.e. that whereas in Ps Jon the expansion (to Num. 22:5) is clearly shown to have its root in בלעם, to swallow up, TC has no suggestion of this;

(ii) from the fact that in Ginzberg, the only reference to Balaam's being king of Edom is in I, 424 "The first Edomite king was the Aramean Balaam, called Bela in his capacity as ruler of Edom". In the note referred to for this statement,² the only evidence quoted is 'Targum

1. under headings "2. and 3."

2. V, 329, note 324.

1 Chron 1. 43; Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 36:32'. And we have already noted that the בלעם reading in the second reference is disputed, being used by Ginsberger, but not by Rieder.

Another tradition quoted by Ginzberg¹ may also have some light to throw on this. The tradition is from Yashar Shemot, and in it the first Edomite king is Bela, son of Beor, a fine warrior, who "reigned happily for thirty years" and was killed in a war with Joseph and his brethren. Later on, however,² in the same Edomite context, we have a Balaam, son of Beor, a fifteen year old youth who, by his magic powers, is able to warn the ruler not to attack the Egyptians, though on a subsequent occasion his magic powers seem to desert him. The important thing, from our point of view, is that Bela and Balaam are here two distinct persons, and Balaam is not king of Edom.

(b) There does seem to be considerable affinity of TC with Ps Jon to Num. and the indications are that Ps Jon is the more original, though the expansion on רנהבה seems to be peculiar to TC.

(c) TC's statements show a certain conciseness (similar to the conciseness shown when dealing with Nimrod), and yet there is some strange repetitiveness, e.g. "he ruled over Edom", or the two references to destroying the sons of Jacob - unless we take (i) the first verb חבל as meaning to corrupt and (ii) the second verb אבר as meaning to destroy; or unless we regard (i) the first phrase as referring to the Amalekites and (ii) the second phrase as referring to Balaam's own ill-fated efforts as recorded in Ps Jon to Num. 24:10-14, especially 24:10.

(d) There is some similarity between TC's treatment of Balaam and that of another 'villain', Nimrod (I Chr. 1:10). A few strokes of the brush

1. II, 156f and V, 372, notes 424 and 425.

2. II, 159.

in each case, giving us a summary of some, but by no means all, of the information available, but enough to leave us in no doubt as to the writer's opinion of the character concerned.

XIII. I Chr. 1:44 BELA and PHINEHAS

TC And Bela died, whom Phinehas slew in the desert.

Bela having been identified with Balaam in the preceding verse, one expects the identification to appear here also in TC. But in TC 1:44 it is BELA who is spoken of, not Balaam, though it is clear that now in the Targumist's mind the names are interchangeable, for the expansion which tells us how Bela died is found elsewhere in relation to Balaam. In Num. 31:8, MT, Balaam's death is stated quite briefly, ". . . and they also slew Balaam the son of Beor with the sword". Ps Jon to this Num. verse gives us a wealth of detail involving the pursuit of the wicked Balaam by the priest Phinehas in the air, Balaam's bargaining for his life and his finally being slain by the sword of Phinehas. Vermes¹ suggests that the root of this expansion may lie in the use of על in Num. 31:8: ARSV ". . . with the rest of their slain": על חלליהם.

In b. Sanh. 106b, we also have a reference to the death of Balaam at the hand of Phinehas, but this time no details are given, except that Phinehas is not a priest but a robber. In a discussion between R. Ḥanina and a certain תינא, the latter states that he has seen Balaam's Chronicle in which it is written בר תלתין ותלת שנים בלעם חגירא כד קטיל יתיה פנחס ליסטאה.

Thus, from the above:

1. p. 171.

(a) The expansion in TC is a summary which may have been transferred from a longer expansion to a non-parallel passage in Ps Jon (cf. Sidon and Shem).

(b) The root of the expansion in its Num. context may be in the text, in the word על , on, upon, over.

(c) As the TC expansion is so brief, a link with the Babylonian Talmud should not be ruled out.

XIV. I Chr. 1:46 HADAD and MIDIAN

TC "... Hadad . . . who slew the Midianites in the fields of the Moabites when they fought a battle with them.

The reference to Hadad's smiting Midian is identical in MT of I Chr. 1:46 and Gen. 36:35. The better to see what the Targums make of it, I shall reproduce the essential part of it. "... Hadad . . . who smote Midian in the country (בשרה) of Moab." The various Targums treat this verse as follows:

TO "... who slew the Midianites in the fields of Moab."

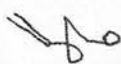
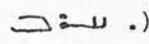
Ps Jon "... who slew the Midianites when he drew up battle" (= fought a battle) "with them in the fields of Moab"

Neo I "... who slew the Midianites in the borders of the Moabites."

TC "... who slew the Midianites in the fields of the Moabites when they fought a battle with them."

Syr. Peshitta (Gen.) "... who slew the Midianites in the fields of Moab."

PC "... who put to the sword the Midianites in the fields of the Moabites."

(I have used the translation 'put to the sword' in the preceding sentence to draw attention to the fact that Pehsitta Gen. uses  and PC .)

Looking at the above, the following should be noted:

1. In all the renderings, there is a tendency:

(a) to change the singular שָׂרָה into the Plural (TC, TO, Ps Jon, Pesh); Neo I has 'borders', which by transference becomes 'territory' - this, however, is quite reasonable, as the Hebrew שָׂרָה has this wider reference, as seen, e.g. in Köhler-Baumgartner Lexicon : open field, fields, domain.¹

(b) to change Singular Person/Tribe/Place-names into Plural names of peoples, e.g. Moab becomes the Moabites.

2. In two of the renderings, we find the expansion when he/they fought a battle with them.

(a) This expansion is found in Ps Jon and TC.

(i) In Ps Jon it is more of an insertion between two phrases, "who slew the Midianites when he drew up battle with them in the fields of Moab", and in this form leaves no room for ambiguity where pronouns are concerned.

In TC it is an expansion coming at the end of the clause "who slew the Midianites in the fields of the Moabites when they fought a battle with them", and in this form leaves the personal pronouns rather ambiguous.

(ii) In Ps Jon, "when he drew up" is expressed by a Preposition + the Infinitive. In TC, "when they drew up" is expressed by an adverb of time + a finite verb.

(iii) In Ps Jon, it is he who drew up battle with them.

In TC, it is they who drew up battle with them.

1. p. 915.

(b) At first sight, the expansion seems rather unnecessary, as one would naturally assume that in a slaughter involving groups, some kind of battle must have taken place; on the other hand, this may be the reason for the expansion - that it was a reference to some battle well-known in folk memory.

(c) The real difficulty, however, lies in the personal pronouns: In MT, Hadad smites the Midianites. In Ps Jon, it is also Hadad who smites the Midianites when he draws up battle with them. In TC it is also Hadad who smites the Midianites, but there is some ambiguity as to who draws up battle with whom: "when they drew up battle with them". Who are they and them (Moabites, Midianites, Edomites)? If we had more details of the battle referred to (directly in the Targums, or indirectly in the MT) it would be easier to decide who was the aggressor. Unfortunately we have little concrete evidence. J. Skinner¹ remarks: "It is a tempting suggestion of Ewald . . . that the battle was an incident of the great Midianite raid under which Israel suffered so severely, so that the king was contemporary with Gideon". The Babylonian Talmud² reminds us that מִרְיָן וּמֹאָב לֹא הָיָה לָהֶם שְׁלוֹם מֵעוֹלָם, and, using the picture of the dogs and the wolf, makes it clear that in the Balaam story in Num. these two 'dogs' came together only because of the threat of Israel. Here Num. 22:4 is quoted, but no indication is given as to how it was known that they had always been enemies.

Rashi too assumes that they were enemies, commenting of Num. 22:4: "Although Moab and Midian were enemies (cf. Gen. xxxvi. 35), they made peace to form a united front against Israel".

1. Genesis, (ICC), 435.

2. b. Sanh. 105a.

It would seem that both the Babylonian Talmud and Rashi are relying to some extent on Gen. 36:35¹, for at Gen. 36:35 Rashi remarks "Midian attacked Moab, whereupon Edom came to its help and defeated Midian. From this we learn that Midian and Moab were enemies, but made peace in the days of Balaam to combine against Israel". Rashi does not tell us how he discovered that Midian had been the aggressor unless he deduced it from the wording of MT in Gen. 36:35.

In fact, the Old Testament gives very little evidence of strong enmity between Moab and Midian (perhaps Jos. 13:21 is the most we can get) and Josephus² says they had always been friends.

Ginzberg³, relying on Yashar Shemot tells how Hadad acquired fame through a war with Moab: the Moabites united with the Midianites against Hadad and the Edomites. In the battle the Moabites fled, leaving the Midianites to be slaughtered. In the following year (in spite of the slaughter!), nursing their grievance, the Midianites attacked the Moabites. Hadad came to the assistance of the Moabites and again the Midianites were heavily defeated. Ginzberg adds: - quoting I think, from, or summing up part of, Yashar Shemot - "This is the beginning of the inveterate enmity between the Moabites and the Midianites."

From this story we have a clear instance, in the second battle, where Moabites and Midianites "drew up battle" with each other, and it may be to this tradition that TC is referring when it says: "When they drew up battle with them".

Thus, from the above, we may note:

- (a) This expansion is found, in slightly different forms, in Ps Jon

1. cf. VERMES, p. 128 and note 1.

2. Ant. IV, 102.

3. II, 164.

and TC.

(b) The TC version may be dependent, partly on Ps Jon, and on the tradition represented in Yashar Shemot.

(c) The following 'line of development' is suggested:

(i) Hadad, in MT of Gen and Chr, is credited with a successful battle against the Midianites, location and time of which are uncertain.

(ii) Ps Jon, in its expansion, gives the picture a frame, by saying that this defeat of the Midianites took place when Hadad had a battle with them.

(iii) Yashar Shemot gives us more details of what exactly happened in the battle with its two phases: Moabites and Midianites versus Hadad, Moabites flee, Midianites suffer. Midianites draw up battle with Moabites, Hadad intervenes and again crushes Midianites.

(iv) TC, relying on Ps Jon, but aware also of the story as given in (iii) above, acknowledges the 'he slew', i.e. Hadad, but changes the drawing-up-battle verb from Singular to Plural to include the Midianites (they) drawing up battle with the Moabites (them) in the second phase of the conflict.

Rashi may also be relying on the Yashar Shemot tradition in his comment on Gen. 36:35: "Midian attacked Moab". It is doubtful if Rashi is dependent here on TC (if, indeed he knew of its existence): for Rashi, Hadad clearly precedes Balaam; for TC, however, where the identification is made between Bela (who is pre-Hadad) and Balaam, Balaam precedes Hadad.

XV. I Chr. 1:48

REHOBOTH

MT Gen. 36:37 and I Chr. 1:48 read שְׁאוּל מִרְחֲבֹת הַנָּהָר.

In TC, this becomes "Shaul who was from פְּלִי־וֹתָא a large town which

was built on the bank of the Euphrates."

פליירתא is the reading of TC MS V. MS C (and Sperber) reads פלטירתא which could be rendered the broad streets (cf. רחבות), but which is more likely to be the name of a town. The Targumist is simply translating the Hebrew רחבות into Aramaic and making it a proper noun (cf. his using a similar technique in 1:30). Thus, in spite of MS V's reading פליירתא being difficilior, the reading of MS C פלטירתא seems to me to be the more likely.

The Gen. Targums tend to expand here also:

TO ". . . Rehoboth, which is on the river Euphrates"

Ps Jon ". . . Rehoboth, which is on the river Euphrates"

Neo I replaces the two words מרחבות הנהר by "from Mesopotamia".

Looking at the total picture, we may note:

1. The root of the expansion no doubt lay originally in the ambiguity of הנהר in MT, where it is not clear whether the reference is to the Euphrates or not. Curtis¹ notes: "The River] is certainly not the Euphrates . . . but the river of Egypt, i.e. the Wady el-Arish . . .". ICC Gen.² has a somewhat similar note: "The river is therefore, not the Euphrates . . . but some perennial stream in the N. of Edom . . .". On the same page Rehoboth is identified as a military outpost in Gebalene, and on this basis moves away from the Euphrates.

Modern translators and commentators are also a little hesitant here:

I <u>Chr.</u> 1:48	ARSV	"Rehoboth on the Euphrates"	=	<u>Gen.</u> 36:37.
	NEB	"Rehoboth on the River"	=	<u>Gen.</u> 36:37.
	JB	"Rehoboth-han-nahar"	=	<u>Gen.</u> 36:37.
	W. Rudolph	"Rehoboth am Flusse"		
	J. M. Myers	"Rehoboth by the river"		

1. p. 78.

2. p. 436.

The Targums, however, are more specific, locating it either on the Euphrates (TO Ps Jon TC), or in Mesopotamia (Neo I). One can only assume that they did this, because for them, הנהר had come to refer primarily to the Euphrates (cf. the name of the province עבר גהרן (Ezra 4:10-7:25:- 14 times)).

2. The three main versions also felt the need to add something at this point:

I Chr. 1:48 LXX A (verse missing in B) "Rooboth, which is by the river"

Vg. "Rooboth, which is situated by a large river".

PC עבא רהב; = the river Rehboth, follows the MT rigidly, and though technically correct, seems to have misunderstood MT.

Gen. 36:37 LXX "Rooboth, which is by a river"

Vg. "the river Rooboth"

SYR עבא רהב; = the river Rehboth.

From the above, we may note:

(a) The root of the expansion is to be found in MT, for TC in רחבות, and for all the Targums, in the ambiguity of הנהר.

(b) TC agrees with TO and Ps Jon in specifically identifying הנהר with the Euphrates, and Neo I locates Shaul's home area as Mesopotamia.

(c) TC is unique in (i) translating רחבות into פלטיות, i.e. reproducing the meaning of the Hebrew name in Aramaic (cf. 1:30);

(ii) making it a large town; (iii) placing it on the bank of (כף) the Euphrates.

(d) TC's is the longest expansion, which may, with its small 'spelling-out' additions, make it the end term in the series.

(e) Gen. Vg and Gen. Syr (+ PC) make רחב the name of the river.

If this is a true understanding of the Syriac, it indicates:

- (i) that it regarded רחבון as a proper noun;
- (ii) that רחבית could hardly have been a town on the Euphrates, as the Targums suggest, for the Syriac translators would surely have been aware of some tradition of its existence. (The Levene Nestorian Commentary¹ identifies רחבית עיר of Gen. 10:11 with Arbel: "Rehoboth is Arbel; some say it is Adiabene". It is of interest that Ps Jon renders this same place as קריתא קריתא.)
- (f) Gen. Vg (de fluvio Rooboth) is not followed by Chr. Vg (de Rooboth quae iuxta amnem sita est), whose rendering at first sight seems very close to that of TC. I do not feel however, that this similarity indicates dependence, because several times in this chapter the Vulgate has shown a certain amount of 'freedom' in its renderings, e.g. 1:18.

XVI. I Chr. 1:50MATRED

In TC, there is a long expansion half way through the verse and it links up with MT again in the last two words of the verse. It would be easier to appreciate its significance if we were to look first at MT.

"And Baal Hanan died and HADAD reigned instead of him, and the name of his city was Pai, and his wife's name was MEHETABEL daughter of MATRED daughter of MEZAHAB."

Gen. 36:39 is the parallel verse, with substantial agreement, except for:

<u>Chr.</u>	HADAD	HADAR	<u>Gen.</u>
	PAI	PAU	

In view of what follows, it should be clearly noted that in MT of

1. See note 8, p. 85.

both Gen. and Chr., Hadad's wife is Mehetabel, who is the daughter of Matred, who is the daughter of Mezahab, i.e. in MT Mehetabel and Matred are both FEMALE.

As we have preserved at Gen. 36:39 four Targums, we shall look at all of them, preceded by the expansion in TC.

TC ". . . Mehetabel, daughter of Matred for he worked with the hunter's spear and net, and when he became rich and acquired goods, he became proud and went around saying, What is silver and what is gold?"

TO ". . . Mehetabel, daughter of Matred, daughter of a refiner of gold."

Ps Jon ". . . Mehetabel, daughter of Matred, he was the man who worked with the hunter's spear and net, and when he became rich and acquired goods, he turned and became proud in his heart, saying, What is silver and what is gold?"

Neo I ". . . Mehetabel, daughter of a maker of hunting-nets who worked with his hunting spear all the days of his life and he became rich and acquired goods and he knew what is silver and what is gold."

FT ". . . Mehetabel, daughter of Matred, daughter of a maker of hunting nets, who worked with hunter's spear and net all the days of his life, and after he had become rich and acquired goods he turned to say, What is gold and what is silver?"

The following points should be noted:

1. TO has a very slight alteration to the MT, and its wording is based on the last two words of MT מִי זֶהָב, the first of which it seems almost to have read as an abbreviation, which it expanded from מִזָּרָף to מִי. TO alone gives this twist to the interpretation of the verse.

2. TC seems to have three pillars for its expansion:

(a) it uses מַטָּרֵף to tell us of a man who became wealthy by the use of his מַטָּרְדוּתָא, which, like מַטָּרְדָּה = hunting-spear.

(b) הִדָּר : having become rich, he became proud, and went around הִדָּר, saying . . .; הִדָּר could also be translated he went around, i.e. he did a complete 'turn around' - where formerly he had

been diligent and careful with his money, his wealth has completely altered his attitude and he now treats it with contempt. It is interesting to note that TC (MS V) in 1:50 follows MT in giving the name of the king as **הֶרֶר**, but changes it to **הֶרֶר** in 1:51. A. Sperber's edition and MS C has **הֶרֶר** in both places. But this will be dealt with more fully in 3. below.

(c) **מִי זֶהָב** meaning originally waters of gold, these two words are made to mean What is gold?, to which is then prefixed silver. The ambiguous What is gold? can be interpreted as an expression of contempt, or as an indication that the man who asked the question knew the value of money. We can see in the expansions listed above how the question was interpreted differently by different Targums.

3. Is the king at the beginning of 1:50 **הֶרֶר** or **הֶרֶר** ?

MT Gen. has **הֶרֶר** (but some MSS have **הֶרֶר**, also SP, and Syr **ܠܬܝܢܐ**).

MT Chr. has **הֶרֶר**.

All the Gen. Targums, with one uncertain exception,¹ have **הֶרֶר**.

TC has **הֶרֶר** in 1:50, but changes this to **הֶרֶר** in 1:51. A. Sperber's edition has **הֶרֶר** in both places.

We thus get the following picture:

TC	has	הֶרֶר	as king's name, uses	הֶרֶר	in the expansion.
TO	has	הֶרֶר	as king's name.		
Ps Jon	has	הֶרֶר	as king's name, uses	הֶרֶר	in the expansion.
Neo I	has	הֶרֶר	as king's name,		
FT	has	הֶרֶר	as king's name, uses	חֶזֶר	in the expansion.

Irrespective of how the king's name is spelt, Ps Jon and TC use **הֶרֶר** (FT uses **חֶזֶר**) in the expansion. If we take the reading of A. Sperber in 1:50 of **הֶרֶר** as the king's name, then we can say that

1. In the printed edition, Neo I has **הֶרֶר**, but all the translations in the same edition, viz. Spanish, French and English, render as HADAR!

TC here seems to be clearly influenced by the Gen. Targums. If, on the other hand, we take the reading of MS V in 1:50, i.e. הדר as the name of the king, we can still see (and perhaps even more clearly) how TC takes over the expansion from Gen., and is not unduly worried about the הדר or הרר, when we bear in mind the comment by Vermes¹ "a combination of variant readings in the interpretation of a text is characteristic of midrashic exegesis". And we can compare with this a not dissimilar technique in the use of בלעם in 1:43 and בלע in 1:44.

4. מטרר in MT of Gen. and Chr. is clearly FEMALE. In the Targums, we see that in FT, she is female, but becomes male in Ps Jon (emphasised by הוא גברא), TC (emphasised by היה), and Neo I (though here the name is not given. However, even if the name had fallen out in Neo I, it still looks from the context as though she would be male!). I shall return to this later.

5. מיזהב "What is silver and what is gold?" TC, Ps Jon
 "What is gold and what is silver?" FT
 "He knew what is silver and what is gold" Neo I.

The interpretation in the Targums would then seem to be as follows:

TC, Ps Jon, FT - Wealth led to pride which led to an outward, ostentatious contempt for money. Rashi follows a similar line commenting on Gen. 36:39: "The daughter of Me-Zahab - meaning מהו זהב what value has gold? He was so rich that gold had no value in his eyes."

Neo I has a slightly different interpretation, represented by the use of the word ירע: "He knew what is silver and what is gold". This seems to imply that having worked hard all his life he knew the value of money.

1. p. 160.

Is it possible that such expansions may have been used homiletically to stress:

- (a) Diligence brings prosperity.
- (b) Prosperity may lead to pride.
- (c) Money is not all important.
- (d) Only the diligent know the value of money.

6. The use of the verb הדר .

- (a) It is not used in Neo I.

It is used in TC, Ps Jon (FT uses חזר).

- (b) It is used with נמך in TC and FT (חזר), i.e. he went around saying, or, as suggested above, it could mean "he turned to say, i.e. he did a complete turnabout from his former attitude = he changed his whole approach".

It is used with גאה Ithp. to become proud in Ps Jon, to mean: he did a complete turnabout . . . and became proud.

If 6(b) is acceptable, then all the Targums (less Neo I and TO) would be saying approximately the same thing, even though the verb הדר is found in slightly different places.

7. "All the days of his life" is added by Neo I and FT.

8. Hunter's spear and net - he became rich and acquired goods.

All the Targums (less TO) include these elements.

Summing up, the following points may be made:

- (a) TO goes its own way entirely, the only real change being with מי זקב which becomes a refiner of gold, and this is found only in TO.
- (b) In the remaining Targums, while there are certain basic constants, e.g. the hunter's spear, there is considerable variation between the Targums, and the pattern of variation is not completely uniform, e.g. "all the days of his life" is found in Neo I and FT "and he knew what is silver . . ." is found only in Neo I, the others, including FT, following a different line.

(c) The two Targums which seem to have most in common are Ps Jon and TC, but there are differences here also, e.g. the verb **הָרַר** refers to a different word in each Targum; Ps Jon has two 'extras' not found in TC, "he was the man who" and "in his heart".

(d) It may be that Ps Jon is the Targum which is nearest the original, for one can detect reasonably clearly the three 'Massoretic pillars' on which the expansion is built; following the principle of Vermes¹ ". . . exegetical tradition only explains what is already implicit in Scripture". The three pillars are **מִיזְהָב, הָרַר, מְטָרָר**. But it must be noted that in Ps Jon **מְטָרָר** is male against MT where we have female (**בַּת**). BUT, if it can be shown reasonably clearly, or at least with some probability, that Ps Jon is nearest the original, we would then be in a position to put forward a case for saying that perhaps MT should be **בֵּן מִיזְהָב** instead of **בַּת מִיזְהָב**, which would then also have the support of LXX (Gen.) - **σοῦς** - and Syr (Gen and Chr) - **ܒܢ** -. There is some confusion in LXX (B) Chr. at this point, the phrase being omitted, though it is found in LXX (A), where, however, the reading is **μαρτάρης**. ICC Gen.² would also like to read **בֵּן** : "For **בַּת מִיזְהָב** it would be better to read **בֵּן** (Gk, Syr)". If the above line of argument were to hold together, Ps Jon at this point would be going back to a time before the fixing of the MT.

(e) I have suggested that the expansion has three pillars, but there are other possibilities:

(i) **מִיטִיב אֵל = מְהִיטֵב אֵל** God benefits.³ This would account for the prosperity found in the four Targums.

1. p. 36.

2. p. 436. Though Skinner goes on to favour the reading of Marquart **בֵּן מִיזְהָב**. cf. RUDOLPH, p. 9.

3. BDB, 406.

(ii) הדר could be based on הדר to honour, which in the Hithpael has the meaning to behave arrogantly. This might account for the pride and contempt element.

The fact that (i), i.e. the idea of prosperity, occurs in all four Targums may justify one in making it the fourth foundation pillar.

(f) From Yashar Shemot, Ginzberg¹ tells us that Hadad, the successor of Baal Hamon, reigned for forty eight years. He reduced the Moabites, who sought the help of the Ammonites, and Hadad was defeated. Then came war with Kittim (Italy), and Hadad was captured and executed by Abimenes, and Seir became a province of Kittim. What is of interest here is that there does not seem, in this tradition, to be any reference to Matred, hunting spear, property, pride, etc.

(g) In the Syriac of Gen. and Chr. in this verse we have very close affinity with the MT - apart from וְיָסַד and בְּ already mentioned. All the 'extras' of all the Targums are lacking in the Syriac, and this is especially noticeable at חִיזְהַב, where in the Targums (all), the corresponding וְיָסַד is used, and this leads on into the expansion. The Syriac, on the other hand, with a similar word available ܠܡܝܢ, retains the י of the MT, reading ܠܡܝܢ. It would be difficult therefore to see much Targumic influence at this point!

XVII and I Chr. 1:51 DEATH OF HADAD - END OF KINGSHIP
XVIII

"And Hadad (TC HADAR) died and the kingdom ceased from them, because the land was conquered by the sons of Esau. And the chiefs of the Edomites who ruled in the land of Gebala were . . ."

This expansion is found only in TC.

1. II, 166.

In MT we have a slight difference between Gen. and Chr. at the end of the so-called Edomite king-list (I Chr. 1:43-50 and Gen. 36:31-39). In Gen., the list of chiefs following (36:40-43) may refer to chiefs who ruled smaller areas at the same time as the kings mentioned in the list. Though S. R. Driver¹ thinks there is also the possibility that 36:40-43 could refer to the chiefs who were in charge after the Edomite monarchy had disappeared.

I Chr. 1:51, however, seems to imply (. . . לִיָּהִי) that the list of chiefs refers to those who followed the kings mentioned in the list, i.e. that where two paragraphs happened to be placed one after the other, Chr. regarded the second as following chronologically on the first.² This seems to be how the Vulgate understood I Chr. 1:51:

"Adad autem mortuo duces pro regibus in Edom esse coeperunt" - "After Adad died, chiefs came into existence instead of kings". The implication here is that the monarchy died with Hadad, and that those who came after him had a lesser role to play.

TC also feels the need for some kind of 'bridge' between the two lists and it supplies it as above, i.e. "and the kingdom ceased from them, because the land was conquered by the sons of Esau". TC's approach however, is not without its difficulties: "from them" - does them refer to the Edomites or to the succession of Edomite kings already listed? Possibly the latter. Then the reason is given for the disappearance of the monarchy, i.e. "The country had been captured by the sons of Esau". Which country? One assumes, Edom. But how can Edom be conquered by the sons of Esau in that so often Esau and Edom

1. The Book of Genesis⁴, (Westminster Commentaries), (1905), p. 319.
 2. cf. RUDOLPH, 9.

are synonymous; though, as J. R. Bartlett¹ has pointed out, this is an over-simplification, for at times they are also regarded as quite distinct. Thus, TC seems to be saying that the Edomite monarchy was removed when the country of Edom was overcome by a group resident in Seir=Gebala, i.e. a part (not the whole) of Edom. But the next sentence raises further problems. Are the sons of Esau and their successors to be identified with the chiefs of the Edomites who are now mentioned? If so, their bailiwick is not all Edom, but simply Gebala. In this way, the two sentences seem to be contradictory. There are three possible ways of partly resolving the difficulty:

(a) A group ("the sons of Esau") took over the country and wiped out the monarchy, but the area of their jurisdiction was in fact limited to Gebala.

(b) A group took over the country, but the Edomites reasserted themselves, and, though the monarchy was not restored, the Edomite chiefs who ruled over the area which had revolted, Gebala, were . . .

(c) This may be a reference to the Roman take-over. Ginzberg², relying on Yashar Shemot, tells how Hadad was defeated by Kittim (Italy) and executed, and "Seir was made a province subject to Kittim and ruled by a governor". Thus, the sons of Esau = Rome. But how then do we regard And the chiefs of the Edomites? Are they the Romans who then became governors? If so, the list following does not contain many Roman names. Or, are they the chiefs appointed by the Romans? This seems more likely. The fact that - though the parallel passage in Gen. does not contain any Targumic expansion at this point - the expansion in Ps Jon at Gen. 36:43 on Magdiel does contain a reference

1. "The Land of Seir and the Brotherhood of Edom", JTS XX (1969), pp. 7ff.

2. II, 166.

to Rome may help to support this point of view.

There is, however, a further possibility: in Gen. there is no 'bridge' between the two lists of kings and chiefs (Gen. 36:31-39 and 36:40-43). The structure and wording of the two sections are as follows:

Gen. 36:31 "These are the kings who reigned in the land of EDOM. . ."

List of names follows . . .

Gen. 36:39 Hadar, the last king is mentioned.

Gen. 36:40 "These are the names of the chiefs of ESAU. . ."

The wording of the expansion in TC fits in very appropriately between Gen. 36:39 and Gen. 36:40. If I may rewrite this in the form of a Targum:

Gen. 36:31 "These are the kings who reigned in the land of Edom

X
X
X
X
X
X
X

36:39 Hadar last king.

And the kingdom ceased from them because the land
had been conquered by the sons of ESAU.

36:40 These are the names of the chiefs of ESAU . . . "

Admittedly, there are difficulties further on, Gen. 36:43, "these are the chiefs of Edom, i.e. Esau, the father of Edom". But the form of the underlined words of the expansion in TC fits in so well in the Gen. context, which has no Targum at this point, that I wonder if the expansion did not belong there originally, say in Ps Jon, and for some reason disappeared from the Genesis context, and now survives only in TC.

SURVEY OF I CHR. 1

In the foregoing expansions we see the normal Targumic procedures in operation, e.g. usually we do not have to look far until we find a biblical stimulus, e.g. 1:20 אלמורר → מורר ; 1:48 רחבות הנהר - the ambiguity of הנהר.

We are constantly aware of links with other works, e.g. Babylonian Talmud, and - where there are parallel passages in the Pentateuch - with the various Pentateuchal Targums.

Often, where TC and other Targums have points of contact, it is TC and Ps Jon that are especially close, though not wholly identical, e.g., 1:50 Matred: cf. Ps Jon to Gen. 36:39.

Occasionally, when there is a link with Ps Jon, TC's version seems to be one stage beyond that of Ps Jon, e.g. Num. 22:5 where the Balaam and בלע - to-swallow-up - emphasis are clearly linked, but in TC 1:43, TC seems to have moved away from this, which may indicate a certain lateness on TC's part.

This lateness may find some confirmation in hints of contacts with late works, e.g. 1:10 Nimrod and Ma'aseh Abraham; 1:19 Joktan and Yashar Noah.

We see TC quite frequently going his own way with brief expansions we do not find elsewhere, e.g. 1:20 Hazarmaweth and the ambush.

In PC, most of the names in MT are reasonably well transmitted, quite a number of the variants occurring because of similarity of letters, e.g. ר and י; and ; - e.g. 1:9 דרר becomes י; .

There is no indication in PC of any of the exegetical richness of TC. We see this lack of contact especially in 1:50, where in TC and in all the Targums to Gen. 36:39 the second part of the name מרזבה

becomes the common noun **רהבא** which becomes part of the basis for an expansion. PC, as in Pesh. of Gen. 36:39, retains **מאוסב : זר**.

There are, however, two points of contact between TC and PC:

1:12 **מאוסב** TC; **מאוסב** PC.

But the possibility of influence from TC on PC is less strong when we note:

(a) **מאוסב** in Pesh. of Gen. 10:14, the parallel verse.

(b) the remark of Krauss,¹ " **קפוטקאי** Kappadocier für Kaphtorim, eine sehr beliebte Zusammenstellung, die sich ausser in den Targumim auch noch bei LXX, Philon und den Kirchenvätern findet."

1:50 **מטרר בן מיזהב**. In TC (and Ps Jon to Gen. 36:39) Matred is a male. PC has **מאוסב : בן**. But again the possibility of influence from TC on PC is lessened when we discover that PC Gen. 36:39 also has **מאוסב**.

In general terms, TC and PC both have variants from MT, but the contact between these variants is minimal.

1. MGWJ, 3 (1895), p. 61.

NOTE ON GEOGRAPHY IN I CHR. 1.

Martin McNamara¹ reminds us of the importance of knowing the location of some sites inside Palestine, e.g. of the border towns, to ensure that certain laws were observed correctly. For this reason and as a result of everyday usage the modern equivalent is often given in the Targums alongside or instead of the biblical name. This happened not only for locations inside Palestine but also for places further afield. As, inevitably, there was some doubt, if not ignorance, as to exactly to whom or to what some of the ancient biblical names referred², some of the attempts to up-date them are not necessarily wholly accurate and as some of the 'new' names were in due course or in other areas unfamiliar to scribes, the names are not always perfectly preserved or they are preserved rather differently in different traditions, and scholars still debate the exact location of some of them.³

Most of the names of places and peoples in I Chr. 1 are found also in Gen., and it is not my intention to examine each of them in detail but rather to look at some of them and their reproduction in TC and elsewhere to see if such an examination throws any light on TC and the traditions it is using at this point. I have taken as a sample just the names of the five sons of Japheth in I Chr. 1:5 (= Gen. 10:2), who were regarded as the founding fathers of certain peoples. On the next page is a table giving some of the lists in which these names are found.

The following points should be noted:

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1. Targum and Testament, (1972), p. 34.
 2. cf. the discussion in b. Yoma 10a on Tiras.
 3. See for example the discussion on Buthnias at 1:13 above.

	MT Gen. 10:2 I Chr. 1:5	b. Yoma 10a	Y. Meg I. 71b	Ber. R. XXXVII. 1.	Ps Jon	Neo I	Neo I. M.	TC	Variants in TC V and in TC C
1	גומר	גרממיה	גרממיה	מפריקה	מפריקי	מפריקי		מפריקי	(גרממיה א) גרמניה
2	מגוג	קנת"א	גוממיה	גרממיה	גרמניה	גרמניה		גרמניה	גיתיה
3	מרי	מקדוניה	מרי	מרי	המרי	מרי	המרי	המרי	המרן
4	יון (כמשמעו) יון	אוווסוס	אוווסוס	מקדוניה	מקדוניא	מקדוניא	מקדוניאה	מקדוניא	אויב-סוס
5	תבל	בית אוניקי	ותניה	תוניה	יתניא	ביתניא	יטיניא	יתניא	יתניה
6	משך	מוסיא בית תריקי	מוסייה כרס	איסניא כרס	אויסא	מוסיא	מוסייה	אויסא	מוסייה
7	תירס	כרס	תירסא	תורקי	תרכי	תירסא	תרכי	תרכי	תרכי

THE SONS OF JAPHETH. GEN. 10:2 & I CHR. 1:5

1. At the time of compiling these lists I had access only to the Soncino English Edition of Ber. R; the names in that column are therefore reproduced from the list in the article by S. Krauss.¹
2. In our lists the number of 'modernisations' agrees with the original number of names. This is not always the case, e.g. in 1:7 there are four sons of Jawan: in TC V and C there are four corresponding names; in a variant reading in MS V there are five names and in a variant reading in MS C this number has increased to eight.
3. As some modernisations are seen to refer to different originals, some misplacing must have taken place, e.g. Nos. 1 and 2: גרמתיא is applied to both גמר and מגור.
4. Discussions such as we have in b. Yoma 10a, on the identification of some of the new names, continues in modern times, e.g. No. 1: גומר

(a) אפריקי

Neubauer² regards this word as related to Gomer as "une faute de copiste", and notes that some identify it with Phrygia or Iberia. Jastrow,³ Levy,⁴ McNamara⁵ identify it with Phrygia. Krauss⁶ fervently maintains that it is Africa, as does A. Diez Macho,⁷ though in his translation of Neo I Gen. 10:2 it becomes Phrygia.

(b) גרמתיא, which in the Lexica is regarded as an alternative form of גרמניא.

Neubauer⁸ thinks it refers to the Garamaei living in Beth-Garme

1. MGWJ 3 (1895), p. 2.

2. p. 421f.

3. p. 108.

4. I, 56.

5. Targum and Testament (1972) pp. 191, 198.

6. MGWJ 3 (1895), p. 2.

7. "The Recently discovered Palestinian Targum . . ." Supplements to VT VII (1960) p. 228.

8. p. 421.

between the rivers Gorgos and Capros in ancient Assyria. Krauss¹ regards it as referring to that part of Germania over which the Romans had control. Jastrow² refers it to Germania, the land of the Cimmerii - i.e. in the Crimea. Levy³ also gives Germania, but his next word 'Deutschland' clearly links it more with modern Germany. A. Diez Macho⁴ also calls it Germania but in Neo I, p. 72,* this Germania is the name of an administrative district of the Roman province of Syria called Commagene. For McNamara⁵ it is Germania, "best located in Asia Minor, probably Germanicia of the Commogene".

It is considerations such as these which make the non-specialist geographer tread with caution, and I wish, therefore, to confine my remarks to four points:

1. The variant readings in TC MS V and TC MS C seem to come from a common source as they are identical apart from one or two insignificant spelling variations, and they seem quite close to the list in the Jerusalem Talmud.
2. TC is reasonably close to the Pentateuchal Targums and of these closest to Ps Jon (and occasionally to Neo I M), which is in line with what has been noted already in the foregoing 'Survey'. TC and Ps Jon show more affinities with the Ber. R. list than with the Talmudic lists.
3. In any discussion on Targumic Geography it is useful to bear in mind a comment by J. Neusner⁶ on geography in the Talmud which applies, of course, also to geography in the Targums: ". . . the Talmud . . . is hardly authoritative on Middle Eastern geography".

1. MGWJ 3 (1895) p. 9.

2. p. 270.

3. I, 155.

4. "The Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum . . ." Supplements to VT VII (1960), p. 228.

5. Targum and Testament (1972) p. 194f.

6. "The Jews in Pagan Armenia" JAOS (1964) p. 232.

4. There are, however, those who think that the geography of the Targums, if not authoritative is at least of help in matters of dating. A. Diez Macho, relying on Albright, speaking of the geography of Neo I says: "This geographical information points to the Roman period, to the second century A.D. as the date of the last recension of the N". It is dangerous to transfer arguments used to prove something in one Targum to prove the same thing in another Targum. Even though there is not all that much difference in this verse between Neo I and Ps Jon and TC, bearing in mind the warning of using geographic names for dating purposes of A.D. York² it would be best to say no more than that in the geographical names in TC and Ps Jon, we have traditions which go back to the Roman period, and one would need to extend the scope of the examination to at least the rest of Gen. 10 and of I Chr. 1 before narrowing down the dating options further.

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1. "The Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum . . ." Supplements to VT VII (1960) p. 229.
 2. "The Dating of Targumic Literature", JSJ V (1974) p. 56.

CHAPTER TWO

I Chronicles, Chapter 2

In I Chr. 2, the Targumic Expansions are examined, but with more emphasis on textual matters than in Chapter One. Not every verse is treated in detail but any verse which shows an important textual peculiarity is scrutinised closely, the aim being always to discover if a variant or exegetical emphasis, especially in TC, finds any reflection in PC.

For convenience the section divisions in the commentary by Curtis and Madsen in the International Critical Commentary Series are followed.

I CHR. 2:1-2 THE SONS OF ISRAEL

No comment

I CHR. 2:3-8 SONS OF JUDAH

2:3 ER AND ONAN

In I Chr. 2:3 (MT), we are told in summary fashion of Judah's family from Bath-Shua, the Canaanitess. Their three sons Er, Onan, Shelah are mentioned, but it is only about Er that we are given further information:

"Now Er, Judah's first-born, was wicked in the sight of the Lord and he slew him" (ARSV).

This story is given in a fuller version in Gen. 38, and in summary fashion in genealogical lists in Gen. 46:12, where the three sons are mentioned with two later sons and the deaths of Er and Onan recorded, and in similar language in Num. 26:19, where Er and Onan only are mentioned, and their deaths recorded: Shelah appears in a slightly different context in the following verse.

The Chronicler would thus seem to be giving us a very brief summary of the three passages above: indeed he is obviously using, e.g. Gen. 38:7 which is almost identical with I Chr. 2:3b; the only difference, in fact, is the substitution of a pronoun הוא in Chr. for יהוה in Gen. Rudolph¹ regards the summary as too brief and he thinks that, through haplography, something similar to Gen. 38:10 has fallen out of I Chr. 2:3,² and he would there add after the report of Er's death the following:

וגם אינן משנהו רע בעיני יהוה זימיתוהו

At first sight this seems a reasonable suggestion, for otherwise we are left puzzling as to why the Chronicler should have given us only the first element (Er's death) in a story which, in Gen. 38:1-10, consists of two elements, neither of which can be properly understood without the presence of the other. On the other hand the Chronicler often gives us what initially seems to be a mere fragment of a story but which turns out to be not just an unrelated fragment, an unlabelled stone of the building as it were, but a presupposition on the Chronicler's part that the rest of the story is known and that he need not spend time sketching in the details but will content himself with a passing reference.³ Rudolph's parenthetical comment in adducing support for his

1. pp. 10, 15

2. RUDOLPH, p. 15 "Dass der Tod Onans fehlt . . . beruht auf einem reinen Textversehen . . ."

3. cf. CURTIS p. 84. "The omission to record the similar fate of Onan, Gen. 38:10, is noticeable. Here, however, as elsewhere the Chronicler assumes that his readers are familiar with the narratives of the Hexateuch."

addition, „(vgl T)“, ¹ does not necessarily help his case, as the Targumist so often delights in elaborating on the silence of his Biblical text.

TARGUMIC EXPANSION

"The sons of Judah, Er and Onan and Shelah; the three of them were born to him from Bath-Shua the trading woman; and Er and Onan were doing that which was evil before Yahweh, and he slew them because they were corrupting their ways."

Here we have two Targumic expansions, the first consisting of an addition which involves some rephrasing in the remainder of the clause, the second a clear addition to the text.

Before commenting on these expansions with whatever assistance the Pentateuch Targums may contribute, one clause in MT of Gen. 38:1-10 requires a closer look:

Gen. 38:9. וְשֹׂאֵת אֶרְצָה

ARSV renders this whole verse as follows, the relevant clause being underlined: "But Onan knew that the offspring would not be his; so when he went in to his brother's wife he spilled the semen on the ground lest he should give offspring to his brother." This is quite close to the Vulgate translation: "semen fundebat in terram", and is on the whole the approach taken by the JB, NEB, and TEV. Kidner² makes a worthwhile grammatical comment on the preceding clause which helps to

1. p. 10

2. D. KIDNER, Genesis (1967), p. 188. Cf. S. R. DRIVER, The Book of Genesis⁴ (1905), p. 328.

give a slightly different, and surely the correct emphasis --- "When . . . should be translated 'whenever'".

The ARSV's translation of the underlined clause stresses the immediate act of the man involved; the MT, however, is thinking more of the ultimate outcome and uses the verb שחַתַּךְ, with the object understood. Lit. "he spoiled (it) groundwards." BDB¹ expresses it thus:

שחַתַּךְ "Pi. to spoil, ruin . . . אֶרֶץ (sc. semen) Gen.

38:9 (J). he spoiled (it) upon the ground, made it ineffective . . ."

As Driver² points out in his Commentary, Onan was hoping "perhaps selfishly to secure the rights of primogeniture in his father's family for himself".

To turn now to the relevant Pentateuchal Targums:

Num. 26:19

MT ". . . and Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan".

TO = MT

Neo I = MT

FT : Verse missing

Ps. Jon. ". . . and Er and Onan died because of their sins (על חרביהון) in the land of Canaan."

Ps. Jon obviously feels a need to give some reason for their deaths.

Gen. 46:12

MT ". . . and Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan"

1. p. 1008

2. See note 2, p. 93 above.

TO = MT

Neo I This section of the verse is omitted, due possibly to Homoioteleuton, though it should be noted that in Neo I, Ch. 46 has very few expansions.

FT : Verse missing

Ps. Jon. ". . . and Er and Onan died because of their wicked deeds (על עוברהון בישיא) in the land of Canaan."

Ps. Jon supplies a reason for their deaths.

Gen. 38:7, 9, 10

MT. 7. "and Er, the first-born of Judah, was evil in the sight of Yahweh, and Yahweh slew him (וימיתהו)

9. . . . and whenever he went in to his brother's wife he spoiled (it) upon the ground . . .

10. and that which he did was evil in the sight of Yahweh, and he slew him also" (וימתו).

TO. 7. = MT. (Certain differences, e.g. קדם-בעיני are not here of immediate relevance). (Note: וזמיתהו)

9. . . . and when he went in to his brother's wife he corrupted his way upon the earth/ground (תחביל אורחיה על ארעא) . . .

10. = MT. (Note וזמיתו)

Neo I

7. "and Er, the first-born of Judah did evil deeds before Yahweh, and he died by a word/decreed from before Yahweh (גמיתו)

9. and when he went in to his brother's wife, he destroyed his works upon the ground¹ (היה תחביל עוברהו על ארעא)

1. Verse 9 is the translation of McNamara/Maher in Neo I, Gen., p. 602.

10. = MT, with some circumlocution. (Note תהיות)

FT Section missing.

Ps. Jon.

7. "and Er, the first-born of Judah was evil before Yahweh, for he did not perform his marital duty to his wife (רלא הוה) (משדש עם אינתתיה כאורח כל ארעא) and the anger of Jahweh was strong against him and Yahweh slew him. (Note: וקטליה)

9. ...and when he went in to his brother's wife, he destroyed his works upon the ground (הוה מחבל עוברוי על ארעא)

10. and that which he did was evil before Yahweh, and he cut off his days also" (Note: וקטע יומיו)

Comparing the Pentateuchal Targums, the following should be noted:

1. Num. 26:19 and Gen. 46:12

Only Ps. Jon is concerned to give a reason for the deaths of Er and Onan --- their sins (Num.), their wicked deeds (Gen.), even when MT makes no reference whatever to their sins. Though the nature of "their sins" is not discussed, they are here coupled as sinners.

2. Gen. 38:7-10

(a) Verse 7. ER. In MT, Er's sin is unspecified. This is the case also in TO and Neo I, though in Neo I, the was evil of MT and TO has become did evil deeds. Ps. Jon, however, is much more specific: Er's sin was that he did not perform his marital duty to his wife. I am not sure if the euphemistic language used here ("he did not deal with his wife according to the way of all the earth") is hinting at an offence like Onan's; perhaps it would be enough to say that the type of language used does not rule out such an offence. At any rate, Er has now a specific sin against his name, and the way is thus opened

for Er and Onan to be put almost (if not completely) on the same basis as sinners.

(b) Verse 9. ONAN. It is of special interest to see how the different Targums translate the phrase of MT וְשָׁחַת אֶרֶצָה, "he spoiled (it) upon the ground".

Ps. Jon uses the same wording as Neo I הוּא מַחְבֵּל עֲוֹבְדָיו עַל אֲרֵעָא, translated by McNamara/Maher¹ as "he destroyed his works upon the ground". In this translation the reference is clearly to the physical act involved; but I wonder if another translation is possible: in that חֲבַל has the notion of destroy, spoil, ruin, corrupt, there may be a case for a translation which has a stronger moral emphasis --- "he corrupted his deeds on the earth", i.e. earth, qua world i.e., he behaved in a corrupt way. In the event, the outcome of both translations is the same, the only difference being one of emphasis. TO, however, by supplying a different object, highlights the moral aspect: מַחְבֵּל אִזְרָחִיהָ עַל אֲרֵעָא "he corrupted his way upon the earth" = "he acted corruptly".

In passing, it may be noted that we have a very similar expression in Gen. 6:12.

MT	כִּי הַשָּׁחִית כָּל בָּשָׂר אֶת דְּרָכָהּ	עַל הָאָרֶץ
TO	אֲנִי חֲבִילָא כָּל בִּיסְרָא אִנְשׁ	<u>אִזְרָחִיהָ עַל אֲרֵעָא</u>

- (i) In this instance MT has a stated object which TO translates faithfully.
- (ii) Within two verses the same Pa'el form is used in the sense of corrupt (6:12) and destroy (6:13) --- "I am about to destroy

1. See preceding note.

them (אנא מחביליהון).

Is it possible that TO, in translating Gen. 38:9, had in mind the clause in Gen. 6:12 חבילו אורחיה על ארעא and (in 38:9) supplied the same object, either because he felt the clause was incomplete without it¹, or unconsciously, or because the expression in Gen. 6:12 had already become a technical term for a specific type of sin which seemed to him to be referred to in Gen. 38:9?²

With this background let us look again at I Chr. 2:3 in the Targum. "The sons of Judah, Er and Onan and Shelah; the three of them were born to him from Bath-Shua the trading woman, and Er and Onan were doing that which was evil before Yahweh and he slew them (עבדין רביש) because they were corrupting their ways. (על דהיון מחבלין ית אורחיהון)."

The following should be noted:

1. TC mentions Onan as a sinner as well as Er, contrary to MT (pace Rudolph³).
2. The bringing together of Er and Onan as sinners is in accord not only with MT of Gen. 38:10, but also with Ps. Jon. Num. 26:19 and Ps. Jon. Gen. 46:12.
3. TC, by the use of the expression על דהיון מחבלין ית אורחיהון makes it clear that he regarded Er and Onan as being guilty of the

1. But see Deut. 4:16 where שחת is used without any object in MT, and whereas Ps. Jon. supplies as object עובדיכון TO supplies no object, unless we regard TO as assuming that the object is to be found in the following clause.

2. See below, p. 99.

3. p. 10

same sin. His use of **חבלל** for both is in line with the usage of

TO	Gen. 38:9	מחביל	---	used of Onan
Neo I	Gen. 38:9	מחבל	---	used of Onan
Ps. Jon.	Gen. 38:9	מחבל	---	used of Onan.

But TC has a further interesting development: he supplies an object for **מחבילן**, but it is not the same object as in Ps. Jon. or Neo I (**עוברי**) --- it is **אורחיהן**, the same object as in TO.

TC "because they were corrupting their ways, and

TO "because he was corrupting his way . . ."

- (i) While there may have been a doubt in Ps. Jon. 38:9 whether to give the translation a 'physical' or a 'moral' nuance, here in TC the 'moral' translation seems to be the only one possible.
- (ii) It would be tempting to posit a close link between TC and TO at this point, because of this unexpected similarity of wording. But it is also possible that **חביל אורחיה** may have, by the time of TC, become a technical term for a specific type of sexual offence. b. Ab. Za. 23b makes this clear: "and the school of R. Ishmael taught: Wherever 'corruption' is mentioned, it only means lewdness and Idolatry: 'lewdness', as it is said, 'for all flesh had corrupted their way upon the earth': and 'idolatry', for Scripture says, lest ye deal corruptly, to make ye a graven image . . ."¹ --- thus linking Gen. 6:12 and Deut. 4:16. b. San. 108a. commenting on Gen. 6:12 puts an even stronger emphasis on unnatural sex offences. Ber. R. XXVIII 8

1. The Soncino translation, p. 117f.

extends this unnaturalness even to the crops. P.R.E. (p. 162)¹ speaking of the corruption of men before the flood links Gen. 6:12 and Gen. 38:9 in the very language used: "When they came to their wives they spilled the issue of their seed upon the earth so as not to produce offspring of the children of men, as it is said, 'and God saw the earth, and behold it was spilled'." Thus, when TC, following the lead of Ps. Jon., lumps Er and Onan together as similar sinners, he automatically uses the 'technical term' חֲבִיל אִירָחִיָּה for both.

- (iii) A further possible reason for TC's regarding Er and Onan as being guilty of the same sin will be mentioned below² in considering non-Targumic material.
- (iv) It is interesting to notice a certain shift of emphasis between Gen. 38:9 MT and I Chr. 2:3 (Targ): in Gen. 38:9 (MT) Onan's sin may have been seen primarily as his refusal to honour his obligation to his deceased brother, but in I Chr. 2:3 (Targ) the sexual emphasis has pushed the question of the rights of primogeniture completely into the background.
- (v) We see a further movement of thought between MT and Targums. In all the MT references in Gen. and Chr., Er's sin remains unspecified: Ps. Jon. suggests that his sin had a sexual dimension, and, by bringing Er and Onan together, leaves the impression that their sin may have been the same. TC leaves us in no

1. p. 162

2. See below, p. 105.

doubt that this was the case. All of which illustrates how the Targum elaborates on the Biblical silence. Where the Biblical text is silent, or leaves an ambiguity or a question mark, the Targums --- sometimes in stages --- fill in the silence, remove the ambiguity and supply answers to the questions.

4. An affinity with the tradition represented in Ps. Jon. which has been slowly emerging in the preceding discussion may be regarded as receiving some support from the verb used in I Chr. 2:3 (Tg.). The verb used for to kill referring to Er and Onan may be seen in the following table:

ER	Gen. 38:7	ONAN	Gen. 38:10
MT	וַיָּמִיתֵהוּ		וַיָּמִית
TO	וַאֲמִיתָהּ		וַאֲמִיתָהּ
Neo I	... מִית		... מִית
Ps. Jon.	וְקָטְלָהּ	וְקָטְטָהּ ... יוֹמוֹרֵי	

Neo I's evidence is of little value because where the others render "and he (Yahweh) killed him", with the possibility of using either Hiph/Aph of וַאֲמִיתָהּ, Neo I uses a circumlocution "and he died by a decree from before Yahweh". I Chr. 2:3 (Tg.) has וְקָטְלָנוּ, using the same verb as Ps. Jon. used for the death of Er. The support would have been stronger, however, had Ps. Jon. retained this word for the death of Onan!

NON-TARGUMIC JEWISH TRADITION

1. "The Testament of Judah", Chapter X

Here there is a strong anti-Canaanite thrust: indeed, Judah seems unable to forgive himself for what he regards as his greatest sin ---

that of marrying Bath-Shua, and in an attempt at self-justification, attributes this lapse to her father's money, her beauty and his own drunkenness. Er marries Tamar, from Mesopotamia, a daughter of Aram, but he is smitten by an angel of the Lord on the third night. Onan marries Tamar, lives with her a year, but the marriage is not consummated, because of "wickedness"; on Judah's insistence Onan goes in to perform his marital duty to Tamar, ". . . but he spilled the seed on the ground, according to the command of his mother, and he also died through wickedness". Apparently, Bath-Shua was anti-Tamar because the latter was not a Canaanite like herself.

2. The Book of Jubilees, Chapter XLI

Judah took for Er a wife "from the daughters of Aram, named Tamar"

(1). Er, however, fails to perform his marital duty to Tamar, because he had wanted to marry a Canaanite, like his mother, but his father had forbidden it (2). For his wickedness, Yahweh slays him (3). Onan's sin is described in similar terms to Gen. 38:9 (4-5).

3. Babylonian Talmud

b. Yeb. 34b. "Er and Onan indulged in unnatural intercourse."

(ער ואונן שמשו שלא כדרכך) There is no problem about Onan's guilt, but how can the same offence be attributed to Er? "R. Naḥman b. Isaac replied: It is written, and he slew him also, he also died of the same death." (רכת'ב יימת גם אתו אף הוא באיתו מיתה)

The assumption from this seems to be that because the deaths were the same, the offences which caused the deaths were also the same.¹ This

1. R. Naḥman is here using the first of the 'two and thirty Middoth' ascribed to Eliezer ben Jose Ha-gelili, as given by H. L. STRACK, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, (1931), p. 96: "Ribbui. The particles af, gam, eth, indicate an inclusion or amplification".

raises a further query: That Onan should behave in the manner stated is understandable, because for his own reason he did not want to provide Tamar with children whose very existence would cause him problems. But why did Er behave thus and not fulfil his marital duties? --- "In order that she might not conceive and thus lose some of her beauty."

4. Ber. R. LXXXV. 4.

The reason for Er's wickedness is "because he ploughed on roofs". (Footnote 4 to page 792: "a delicate expression for unnatural intercourse, so that his wife should not conceive").

LXXXV. 5. Referring to Onan's behaviour. "HE SPILLED IT (THE SEED) ON THE GROUND". "He cohabited naturally but scattered without".

5. Rashi, commenting on Gen. 38:7 regards Er's wickedness as the same as Onan's. "This is deduced from the statement, and He slew him also, the last word implying 'for the same reason'. He did not want her to lose her beauty through pregnancy and childbirth." However, there was not total unanimity on Er's sin. Nachmanides, thirteenth century, simply notes "His sin is not indicated, save that he died for his own sin, and not as a punishment for Judah's part in the sale of Joseph".¹

It is difficult to draw many significant conclusions from these references with regard to TC.

Both "The Testament of Judah" and The Book of Jubilees, while agreeing that Er was slain because of his wickedness, leave us in some doubt as to the nature of that wickedness. The Book of Jubilees is

1. A. COHEN (ed.) The Soncino Chumash (1947) p. 237.

explicit that Er's wickedness was the reason for his death, but in the wording of xli 2 it is not quite clear whether the wickedness was his failure to consummate the marriage or his desire to marry a Canaanite - or both.

There is the same 'double reference' in the Testament of Judah. The anti-Canaanite emphasis finds expression in the rather enigmatic sentence "Now Er was wicked, and he was in need concerning Tamar, because she was not of the land of Canaan". This emphasis is perhaps heightened in x 3, where his lack of desire for children by Tamar seems to be at his mother's behest because Tamar was not a Canaanite like herself.

Both books, however, take their anti-Canaanite approach a stage further. In Gen. 38 Tamar is provided with neither genealogy nor race, though it is probable that the writer (the J document author) regarded her as of Canaanite origin. In both these books, Tamar is "de-Canaanitised", and, while she is not transformed by the authors into a full-blooded Israelite, she is shown at least to have her origins in an area, Aram, with which the Patriarchs had very close connections.¹

This anti-Canaanite tendency is paralleled in some of the Targums to Gen. 38, e.g. Ps. Jon., though in a rather different way. While "The Testament of Judah" and the Book of Jubilees ensure that TAMAR is not a Canaanite, some of the Targumic tradition tries to remove the Canaanite label from BATH-SHUA, Judah's wife. In fact she is not a daughter of Shua the Canaanite, but the daughter of Shua, the trader or merchant, 'Canaanite' being given here its non-ethnic meaning, as

1. cf. J. A. EMERTON, "An Examination of a recent structuralist interpretation of Genesis XXXVIII", VT 26 (1976), pp. 79-98, especially pp. 90-93.

in certain parts of the Old Testament. Ps. Jon. Gen. 38:2 . . .

וְחָמָה תִּמְךָ יְהוּדָה בְּרֵת גִּבּוֹר וְגֵר . Ps. Jon., having removed the Canaanite label puts the issue beyond all doubt by going on to say that Judah made her a proselyte וְגֵיִרָה. As TC stresses the 'merchant' aspect also, but with a slightly different emphasis¹, we can see in both Targums a desire to ensure that 'the fathers' are nobly dealt with - in this case Judah is not tainted with marrying a Canaanite, and thus infringing what was later to become a very important law.

b. Yeb. 34b and Ber. R. LXXXVI clearly regard Er and Onan as being guilty of the same sin and this is specified as unnatural intercourse. This may provide a link with TC, for it is only here in all the Targums examined that Er and Onan are clearly listed as sharing in the same sin, and - if the discussion on the use of חֲבִיל אִוְרְחָיָה is valid - that sin is unnatural intercourse. One of the reasons why TC may have regarded Er and Onan as being guilty of the same sin could be the result of the discussion referred to in b. Yeb. 34b, on the use of the word also (and mentioned in Rashi).

Both b. Yeb. 34b and Rashi supply the reason for Er's sin - that childbearing would deprive his wife of some of her natural beauty. This finds no mention in TC, but then, as has been noted before, TC does not aim to supply all the details, though the few which he does supply often provide a wealth of material by their succinctness.

Before attempting to draw any conclusions I should like to comment on בֵּית שׁוֹעַ הַכְּנַעֲנִית in I Chr. 2:3 (MT). In TC this becomes בֵּית שׁוֹעַ כְּרָקָה טָתָה. TC is following a procedure somewhat similar

1. See below, p. 108.

to that found in I Chr. 1:30 (cf. Ps. Jon. Gen. 25:14, 15) where the name in MT תִּשְׁנֶה, which in form could also be regarded as a common noun, thing heard, is translated more in accordance with the latter meaning in the Targum and becomes תִּשְׁנֶה. Similarly in the Old Testament כְּנַעֲנִי has an ethnic meaning, 'Canaanite', but in certain cases it has a secondary meaning, 'trader, merchant',¹ e.g. Job 40:30; Zeph. 1:11. It may be that TC, as he has done before, is simply translating a word by its 'other' meaning. This, however, raises the question: Did TC have any reason for doing this? Was he avoiding the use of the term 'Canaanite' for some particular reason, perhaps because of a desire to make it clear that the ancestors had not been in breach of the later law which forbade marriage with Canaanites, (e.g. Ex. 34:16; Deut. 7:3)? Looking at the Genesis Targums and other related works, some interesting points emerge:

Gen. 38:2

MT	בֵּת אִישׁ כְּנַעֲנִי
TO	בֵּת גִּבּוֹר כְּנַעֲנִי
Neo I	בֵּיתָה גִּבּוֹר כְּנַעֲנִי
Ps. Jon.	בֵּית גִּבּוֹר תִּלְךְ
F.T.	Missing
<u>Ber.</u> <u>R.</u>	No relevant comment.
Rashi	תִּלְךְ

In other parallel passages already looked at in a different context, Num. 26:19 and Gen. 46:12, the word does not appear in the Hebrew text,

1. BDB p. 489, but see A. HALDAR in G. A. BUTTRICK, The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (1962) I, 494, where he regards 'trader, merchant' as the primary meaning, the ethnic being secondary. Whichever way it is taken, the argument is not affected.

but in Gen. 46:10, there is a comment in MT on one of the sons of Simeon, שׂאִיל:

Gen. 46:10

MT	בן הכנענית
TO	בר כנעניתא
Neo I	ברה רכנעניתה
Ps. Jon.	הוא זמרי רעכר עוברא רכנעני בשיטי
F.T.	Missing
<u>Ber. R.</u>	No comment <u>ad. loc.</u> but on <u>Gen.</u> 34:26 (<u>Ber. R.</u> LXXX, 10) Shaul becomes "son of Dinah".
Rashi	Dinah's son, whom Simeon was forced to adopt.

The parallel passage to Gen. 46:10 is Ex. 6:15:

MT	בן הכנענית
TO	בר כנעניתא
Neo I	ברה רכנעניתה
Ps. Jon.	הוא זמרי ראשאל נפשיה לזנותא הי כנענאי
F.T.	Missing
<u>Shem. R.</u>	No comment
Rashi	No comment

This verse is also reproduced in I Chr. 4:24, but rather significantly the name 'Saul' is given but with no elaboration, though TC remedies this by giving us: הוא זמרי ראשאל גופיה שאל גופיה לפורענותא with a variant reading in MS. C לפורענותא

Thus in each passage where כנעני (ת) is mentioned, Ps. Jon. in particular studiously avoids translating it as 'Canaanite', but instead gives it

- (a) in Gen. 38:2 a non-pejorative meaning,
- (b) in Gen. 46:10 (= Ex. 6:15) a strongly pejorative meaning,

and thus succeeds, in each case, in deflecting the charge that these sons of Jacob had had Canaanite wives.

In our instance, I Chr. 2:3, TC, following perhaps the lead of the tradition represented in Ps. Jon., renders הכנענית by כרמטתא and thus likewise absolves Judah from the sin of any liason with a Canaanite woman.

It should be noted:

- (a) In Gen. 38:2 (MT) Judah marries the daughter of a Canaanite man:

בת איש כנעני ושמה שוע. In I Chr. 2:3 (MT) this is abbreviated to 'Bath Shua', the Canaanitess' בת שוע הכנענית, but when these two phrases are translated into Aramaic, Bath Shua, from being 'the daughter of a trading man' in Ps. Jon. to Gen., becomes in Targ. Chr. herself 'the trading woman'.¹

- (b) Ps. Jon. uses for כנעני the word תגר, trader, merchant, which does not occur in Biblical Hebrew or Biblical Aramaic²; I Chr. 2:3 uses the loan word כרמטתא (MS. V; C and L have כרמטיתא), feminine form of כרמטיוטא another form of כרמטיוטא (from *καρματεύτης*) trader, esp. travelling merchant (Jastrow p. 1214f. and 1241). Lest the constant

1. Unless we translate here "the daughter of Shua the trading woman". (see LXX Gen. 38:2 and discussion on p.112 below). This is possible only if we can regard בת as the construct of ברתא - which seems to be how LE DÉAUT I, p. 43 has taken it - whereas the normal expression in TC for 'daughter of' is ברת e.g. I Chr. 2:49; 3:2; see especially 3:5, where TC retains the Hebrew form בת in the two proper names quoted, but when he wishes to say "daughter of" it is not בת but ברת that is used.
2. Unless we accept RUDOLPH'S emendation in I Chr. 9:14 of תגרים for תרים.

references to affinities between TC and Ps. Jon. make one think of a too heavy dependence of the former on the latter, such word variation as we have here, where for (ת) כנעני Ps. Jon. uses תגר, TC פֿרֿקמטתא, reminds us that a Targumist, while obviously part of a certain tradition, exercised his freedom within this tradition. R. le Déaut and J. Robert,¹ in their Introduction to TC, as they stress its Palestinian origin quote - and extend - a list "de mots d'origine grecque ou latine attestés dans TC et qui se retrouvent dans le Targum palestinien (TP), mais n'apparaissent point dans la littérature juive née hors de Palestine."² In their extension to the list this word פרֿקמטתא 9/ is quoted. While accepting the validity of their statement quoted above and attempting not to fall into a non sequitur, it is of interest that though both Targums, TC and Ps. Jon., are regarded as of Palestinian origin, at this point one (TC) uses what in the list referred to above would be deemed a thoroughly Palestinian word, while the other (Ps. Jon.) does not use this word. (This in itself, of course, would not disprove Ps. Jon.'s Palestinian origin!). Though it should be added that תגר (Ps. Jon.'s word at this point) is found also in TC (II, 1:16; 9:14), but I am unable to trace whether פֿרֿקמטתא occurs in Ps. Jon! If the latter result were negative, i.e. that פֿרֿקמטתא is found only in TC, this might provide some support for a later date for TC - if it could be shown that פֿרֿקמטתא had come into use in the Umgangssprache at a later period. The fact that פֿרֿקמטתא is

1. LE DÉAUT I, p. 16.

2. LE DÉAUT I, p. 17.

found in Syriac¹ makes it surely rather probable that the word must have been in use also in the Eastern reaches of Judaism.

Leaving aside matters linguistic, there is clearly in Ps. Jon. and in TC a desire to have the ancestors freed from any entanglements with Canaanite women, or to express it otherwise, this emphasis may reflect a period when marriage with non-Jews was putting the Faith in danger, and it was necessary, therefore, to show the fine example set in such matters by the ancestors. But this is hinted at also in "the Testament of Judah", the Book of Jubilees, and in various discussions in the Talmud and in later commentators (though Neo I to Gen. 38:2, for example, is unaware of any problem), and, bearing in mind that marriage within the community was of the esse of the Faith, such references would be of very little help in trying to date or locate any context in which such a reference might appear. This was a perennial problem for Judaism.

From the above discussion the firm conclusions which can be drawn are few: ---

There is a strong anti-Canaanite-liaison emphasis in "The Testament of Judah" and the Book of Jubilees, an emphasis which finds expression, though from a slightly different point of view, in Ps. Jon. to Gen. and in TC.

"The Testament of Judah" and the Book of Jubilees however, are rather enigmatic with regard to Er's sin, but Babylonian Talmud, Bereshith Rabba (and Rashi) clearly regard Er and Onan as being guilty of the same sin, which they specify as unnatural intercourse; this is hinted at in Ps. Jonathan to Gen., but is quite explicit in TC. The

1. R. PAYNE SMITH, II, col. 3236.

very fact that this is explicit in TC may suggest that, while TC is closer to the tradition reflected in Ps. Jonathan than in any other Targum, the discussions referred to in the Talmud and Bereshith Rabba may have helped to shape the form in which the tradition has reached us in TC.

Remembering the role of the Targumist as not just translator, but 'translator - hortator', one can see a clear homiletic note appearing in TC, on the theme - Wickedness does not go unpunished: The Lord sees to that!

TARGUM and PESHITTA

An examination of the text of I Chr. 2:3 in the Targum and other related works has shown a number of striking features in TC. Leaving aside any exegetical emphases, TC has one addition to MT which leads to rephrasing in the remainder of the clause, another clear addition to MT at the end of the verse, a loan-word in TC not found in the corresponding passage in Ps. Jon. to Gen. 38:2, and, to mention a new fact, a singular verb in MT becomes plural in TC.

We turn now to the Peshitta, to see if any of these features - or indeed any of the exegetical emphases - are reflected in the Syriac translation, or, to put it otherwise, to see if the Syriac text shows any signs of dependence on the Targum.

1. MT נולד becomes TC אֲתִי לִידוֹ, i.e. a singular verb has become plural. This pluralising is found also in PC ܐܬܝ ܠܝܕܘܐ. There is, however, little to be gained from this, because the other versions consulted follow exactly the same procedure: LXX

(ἐγεννήθησαν), Vg (nati sunt), Arm. (ܝܠܕܘܢ). This is, of course, a natural step for any translator to take, as the subject of

the verb is plural, three. But it does raise a question as to why MT should have used a singular verb at this point. It may be a scribal error for נולדו : Kennicott 180 has נולדו.¹ On the other hand, the simpler approach is that the writer is thinking of a group: 'Er, Onan, Shelah - this group of three was born to . . .'. We find a similar phenomenon, e.g. in I Chr. 2:9; 3:1, 4, 5, where MT has a singular verb and the versions listed above have changed the singular to the plural form (except in PC I Chr. 3:1 where the verb is omitted).

2. חבת שוע הכנענית

As has been shown above,² Ps. Jon. and TC made the 'Canaanite' a 'trader'. In Gen. 38:2 Pesh. retains סוֹסֵס, as do the other non-Targum versions. In I Chr. 2:3, MT בת שוע is now one name, as has already happened in MT Gen. 38:12. This seems to be the case also in PC, LXX, Vg, Arm, though the last three take בת as a common noun and translate accordingly as 'daughter',³ and LXX and Vg make the adjective 'Canaanite' feminine thus either agreeing with daughter, in which case Vg reads strangely as 'Canaanite' is Genitive, whereas 'daughter' is Ablative, or agreeing with Shua, in which case Shua has become feminine, which contrasts with Gen. 38:2 MT וַיִּשְׁמְנוּ, though there is confusion at this point in LXX which reads ἡ δὲ θυγάτηρ, presupposing שמה. But leaving these peculiarities aside, all of the non-Targum versions in I Chr. 2:3 use 'Canaanite' in its ethnic

1. DE ROSSI, III, p. 170

2. See p. 109.

3. In PC while 7 a 1, 6 h 13, and Edd. have σαηλ, 8 a 1 has σαη ה, apparently as two separate words, and 9 a 1 has σαη ה, apparently written as one word.

sense, and there is no hint of the פִּרְקָמְטָא of TC¹. If then, PC is showing any dependence, it is certainly not on TC.

3. In the second part of the verse TC has one addition which requires the rest of the clause to be rephrased (the inclusion of evil-doer Onan) and one clear addition at the end of the verse ('because they were corrupting their ways'). We find no trace of these, or, of the exegetical nuances already referred to, in PC, LXX or Vg.

Two points, however, should be mentioned:

(a) בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה MT becomes in TC קִרְם יִי and in PC מִן מַעַל. This I do not feel to be very significant; the anthropomorphism has been partly avoided in TC and PC which, at the most, would indicate a Jewish, but not necessarily a specifically Targumic influence; it may also be noted that LXX, Vg and Arm. have likewise used a 'non-anthropomorphic' preposition.

(b) For the killing of Er, MT uses וַיְמִיתֵהוּ. In the parallel passage in Gen. 38:7, where we have the same expression in MT, Pesh uses the corresponding verb סִמְלָא. In I Chr. 2:3, however, MT's וַיְמִיתֵהוּ becomes in TC וְקָטְלָנִיךְ (referring to both) and in PC סִמְלָא (referring to Er). This verbal correspondence is a small point, but it should not be overlooked, especially as the Hiph. of מוֹת in I Chr. 10:14, II Chr. 22:11; 23:21; 25:4, is translated in TC by קָטַל and in PC by סִמְלָא (except in PC I Chr. 10:14, where the word is untranslated).

1. It must however be acknowledged that מִסְמָל in PC could be translated 'trader, merchant'. R. PAYNE SMITH, I, Col. 1766f. gives the ethnic meaning but gives also the meaning mercator, citing Prov. 31:24; Isa. 23:8; Zech. 14:21. I feel, however, that if PC had been influenced by TC, that influence would have been reflected in PC by the substitution of a less ambiguous word for 'trader' than מִסְמָל.

In fact, in I Chr. 2:3, PC follows MT very closely. Apart from the instances mentioned under 3, the only place where PC could be said to differ from MT is where שלשה becomes למה.

This 'these' is found in none of the versions, except the Armenian,

թերեւս.

To sum up: this verse in TC has several differences, major and minor, from MT. None of the major differences in TC are reflected in PC, and of the minor, the only one which requires mention is the verbal correspondence between קטל in TC and ספד in PC, where MT uses מות.

2:6

"And the sons of Zerah: Zimri and Ethan and Heman and Calcol and Dara, all of them officials on whom the spirit of prophesy rested, and they were five."

In Josh. 7:1 זבדי, Zabdi, the grandfather of Achan, is mentioned as a son of Zerah. Zimri, זמרי, and Zabdi are thus likely intended to refer to the same person. If we assume that Zabdi is the original spelling, Zimri has appeared either through a textual error or through a deliberate alteration. Curtis prefers the former: "the confusion of ז and מ is phonetic, of ז and ר graphic".¹ Rudolph's statement of the latter alternative makes it sound a much more reasonable one,² viz., that the original name was Zabdi but when, for other reasons, Zabdi was linked with a group of people amongst whom was a strong musical emphasis, he too became a musician - in name at least - by being called Zimri, זמרי, the link being with זמר, to make music.

The other four, Ethan, Heman, Calcol and Dara, appear as a group in I Ki. 5:11; they are wise men of uncertain date, and Solomon's wisdom is magnified by showing that he was wiser even than these four! Of interest in I Ki. is that Ethan is called "the Ezrahite", האזרחי, and that they are all, or at least the last three, called "sons of Mahol".

But there are other references to these men: I Chr. 15:17, 19 speak of Heman and Ethan, who were appointed in the temple to sound bronze cymbals. I Chr. 25:1 has some of the families of Asaph and

1. p. 86

2. p. 10

Heman and Jeduthun prophesying with lyres and harps and cymbals, under the direction of their respective fathers.

I Chr. 25:5 refers to Heman as the king's seer, חזה המלך.

The title of Ps. 88 mentions Heman, האזרחי, as author.

The title of Ps. 89 mentions Ethan, האזרחי, as author.

Thus, as we have a Heman and an Ethan performing various musical roles in the temple, and as two adjoining Psalms are attributed to Ethan and Heman respectively, and as Ethan is called האזרחי in I Ki. 5:11, and as the Chronicler clearly regards האזרחי as capable of being translated בן זרח, he had reasonable grounds for thinking of Ethan and Heman together as sons of Zerah along with Zabdi/Zimri, and he naturally includes with them the two others whose names immediately follow those of Ethan and Heman in I Ki. 5:11, though he conveniently omits the phrase, "the sons of Mahol", from the same verse.

C. F. Burney¹ thinks that the Chronicler clearly distinguishes the Ethan and Heman of the wise men group (Judahites) from the Ethan and Heman who were musicians (Levites) and that it is the author of the Psalms titles who has introduced confusion by calling these authors 'Ezrahites'. He also disposes of the 'sons of Mahol' and the 'sons of Zerah' problem by regarding Zerah as the remoter ancestor and Mahol as the immediate father.

Albright² adopts a simpler approach to the latter problem by arguing that מחול is a musical term, and that בני מחול refers to a musical group, "members of the orchestral guild".³ The word

1. C. F. BURNEY, Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings (1903), p. 51.

2. W. F. ALBRIGHT, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel² (1946).

3. ALBRIGHT, p. 127.

"אֶזְרָח he takes as being equivalent to אֶזְרִי, "aborigine",¹ and, as used of Ethan in I Ki. 5:11, indicates a "member of a pre-Israelite family".² All the founders of various temple guilds "were called Ezrahites in the tradition underlying I Chr. 2:6 . . . in other words, at least one tradition regarded all these guilds as Canaanite in origin".³ While Albright is endeavouring to show from all this the antiquity of the tradition on which the Chronicler is relying, from our point of view his evidence helps to stress the long-standing musical connections involved in this tradition.

This background may, in part, at least, help to explain why TC feels the need to add a short expansion with a special emphasis, ". . . Officials on whom the spirit of prophecy rested . . .". Or, to put it otherwise, the seeds of the expansion are already in the Biblical text. As noted above, the Chronicler, by regarding בן זרח as בן זרח, has already begun the Targumist's work. Targ. Jon. now does the same in I Ki. 5:11, and it seems reasonable that TC, aware of what had happened in his own text and had also happened in Targ. Jon., and aware of the link with officialdom, (חֲזֵה הַמֶּלֶךְ I Chr. 25:5), temple-music, wisdom and prophecy (I Chr. 15:17, 19 and I Ki. 5:11; I Chr. 25:1 and Titles to Pss. 88 and 89), has no hesitation in pouring on them all 'the spirit of prophecy', and indeed calling them אֶמְרוּלִין, a term which, according to Le Déaut's⁴ understanding of Levy, has a special

1. ALBRIGHT, p. 210.

2. ALBRIGHT, p. 127.

3. ALBRIGHT, p. 210. cf. JOHN GRAY, I & II Kings², (1970), p. 147.

4. LE DEAUT, I, p. 43, n. 4, and LEVY, I, 38-39. See also J. LEVY, Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim (1876) I, p. 103, who quotes Bem. R., (section 3, 188a, = VI. 1) where the אֶמְרוּלִין has a definite place in Temple protocol. JASTROW, p. 79, also stresses the temple reference by listing the Amarkal as "one of the seven Temple trustees superintending the cashiers".

'temple reference'.

The sons of Zerah appear elsewhere in Jewish tradition, e.g.

(a) in the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, e.g. in b. San. 44b, the five are mentioned, but not so much for their own sakes as in connection with Achan, who is identified with Zimri;

(b) in Pesikta Rabbati¹, 14:9, where through various etymological devices, some of them are identified with the great names of the past, e.g., Ethan with Abraham;

(c) in Seder 'Olam² § 21, where twice they are referred to. In the first case we hear of them as prophets working in the midst of recalcitrant and heedless children of Israel in Egypt. In the second, various offerings in the wilderness are regarded as indicating different people, e.g. the five rams indicate the five distinguished sons of Zerah, mentioned by name.

Thus Jewish tradition held these five sons of Zerah in considerable esteem, but it is in Seder 'Olam, with its stress on their prophetic role, that we can see a possible link with TC³.

TARGUM and PESHITTA

1. PC follows MT very closely.
2. PC has no sign of any kind of expansion.
3. Within the Syriac tradition there is a slight variation in names, e.g.

MT	7a1	6h13, 8a1, 9a1; Edd.
זמרי	זמרי	זמרי
איתן	איתן	איתן

1. W. G. BRAUDE, Pesikta Rabbati (1968), I, pp. 272-4.

2. References from GINZBERG, II, 283 and V, 407.

3. Cf. also I Chr. 25:5 in TC, where Heman, חזיה הנול has become

נביא דמלכא

In 7al, or in the tradition behind it, a ך and a ך (in Heb. or Syr.) must have become confused, or perhaps more simply, we have a careless scribe, for in 2:8, the ך אִי of MT appears in 7al as אִי .
 4. MT Chr. reads ררע for ררע in I Ki. 5:11. In Chr., the evidence is confusing, LXX and Arm. reading ררע, but Vg. and PC have ררע . We get little help from TC for, while MS. V reads ררע, A. Sperber's edition has ררע ! As the Kings textual tradition solidly supports ררע, we ought possibly to do likewise in Chr.

2:7

MT. "And the sons of Carmi, Achar, the troubler of Israel, who committed a trespass in the matter of the devoted thing."

TC. "And the sons of Carmi, i.e. Zimri, Achar, i.e. Achan, who troubled Israel, when they fled and fell before the men of Ai, because he had acted falsely in the matter of the devoted thing."

TC's first expansion identifies CARMi and ZIMRI. This presents us with an immediate problem: Which Zimri? There appear to be two candidates:

1. Zimri, son of Salu, a Simeonite.
2. Zimri, son of Zerah, and father of Carmi, a Judahite.

1. The reference is to Num. 25, especially verse 14, where, in Shittim, a certain Zimri, son of Salu, a Simeonite, brings a Midianite woman into the camp, and is slain by Phinehas the priest, a grandson of Aaron. This incident lived on in the folk-memory, and the author of I Macc. saw a clear parallel between the zealous Phinehas' slaying the apostate Zimri and Mattathias' slaying the Seleucid official and the renegade Jew at Modein in the second century B.C.¹ Ps. Jon's

1. I Macc. 2:26; cf. IV Macc. 18:12.

treatment of the incident in Num. adds nothing new from our point of view, though he does make the unfortunate Zimri remind Moses that he (Moses) too had married a Midianitess.¹ This point is mentioned in the much fuller treatment of Zimri in b. San. 82a-b, where he is discussed in the context of relationships with heathen women. Of note in this treatment are two additional elements: (a) in a statement attributed to R. Naḥman in Rab's name, Zimri is a man given over to debauchery; (b) in a statement attributed to R. Joḥanan, Zimri is but one of his five names: he is also called 'Saul', 'because he lent himself to sin', על שהשאל עצמו לרבר עבירה; and 'the son of the Canaanitess', 'because he acted like the Canaanites'

על שעשה מעשה כנען.²

The identification of Saul and Zimri is found also in Ps. Jon. Gen. 46:10 "Saul, i.e. Zimri, who behaved like the Canaanites in Shittim" and in Ps. Jon. Ex. 6:15 "Saul, i.e. Zimri, who lent himself to debauchery like the Canaanites"; in TC I Chr. 4:24, "Saul, i.e. Zimri, who lent his body for reward/punishment",³ ראשאל גופיה לפורענותא .

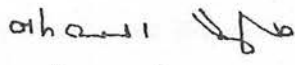
In Midrash Rabba, we find many of the Babylonian Talmud comments, though the same five names of Zimri in b. San. become six in Bem. R. XXI. 3. The picture which builds up around Zimri in the Midrash Rabba is that of a very evil man, who has become almost a byword for one who rebelled against God. For example, in an elaboration of the saying in

1. Cf. Bem. R. XX. 24

2. b. San. 82b.

3. I am not quite sure how to interpret ל פורענותא : if for reward is meant, the stress is on his debauchery; if for punishment, it may be an oblique reference to Phineas' work with the spear.

Ecc1. 7:26 "he who pleases God escapes her, but the sinner is taken by her", we find in Qoh. R. VII. 26, that Phinehas is one of those regarded as referred to in the first clause, and Zimri fulfils a similar role for the second clause. This approach is reflected also e.g. in P.R.E.¹ and in Midr. Teh.²

We find the same emphasis in Aphrahat; when extolling the virtues of virginity, he mentions several people whose parents would have done better had they not brought them forth and the two named first are Zimri and Achan, the reason in Zimri's case being ³

In the Nisibene Hymns,⁴ Ephrem also quotes Zimri, and while there is a great temptation to see in the quotation some dependence on the miracles tradition, six in b. San. 82b and twelve in Bem. R. XX. 24, what he says could probably have had its origin solely in the MT.

"Phinehas the zealous pierced and gave me, on the head of his spear for my delight, Zimri and Cozbi both together . . ."

This general picture of Zimri is well summed up in the comment in EJ⁵ that Zimri became "a symbol for the worst rebellion against God and his Torah".

2. The other Zimri is Zimri, son of Zerah and father of Carmi, a Judahite. If Carmi is identical with this Zimri, we are having an

1. Ch. XLVII, p. 369f.

2. 15. 6.

3. Demonstration XVIII - 6. Reference is originally from J. NEUSNER, Aphrahat pp. 132, 80.

4. 39. 5.

5. Vol. 16, p. 1027.

identification made between a man and his son.¹ This may seem somewhat unusual, and further consideration of this possibility will be postponed until after we have looked at Achan.

Leaving 2 out of the reckoning for the moment, the position we have now reached is that Carmi is identified with Zimri, a man who by his association with a Midianitess flouted God's and Moses' commandment, brought a massacre on his own people, and a shameful death on himself and his 'bride'. Saul, a Simeonite, is identified with this Zimri, obviously because of his contact with heathendom through his Canaanite mother. What has not yet emerged is:

(a) any indication as to why Carmi should be identified with this Zimri. The 'Carmis' of the Old Testament are three in all, but in each case, apart from their name and their tribe, we know very little more about them. The ground for the identification may be a certain similarity of sound between the two names.

(b) any suggestion from the material considered which is based on Num. 25, that the Zimri there mentioned is identical with Achan.

This latter point leads to the next Targumic expansion: Achar, i.e. Achan.

How, in fact, did the ACHAN of Jos. 7 become the ACHAR of I Chr. 2:7? If we assume Jos. to be original a ך in Jos. has become a ר in Chr.² Yet the etymological references in Jos. 7 clearly presuppose עכר : 7:24, 25, 26:

24 ויעלו אתם עמך עכר

1. See I Chr. 2:6.

2. Kennicott 80 and 180 read עכר in I Chr. 2:7. See DE ROSSI, p. 170.

25 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ מֶה עָכַרְתֶּנוּ יַעֲכֹרְךָ יְהוָה בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה

26 עַל כֵּן קָרָא שֵׁם הַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא עֵתֶךָ עֲכֹר

If, however, I Chr. 2:7 is correct in giving עֲכֹר, whence came

עֲכֹר? Rudolph¹ thinks that here the Chronicler is using an entirely independent source, but Rudolph does not give any adequate answer as to how, in spite of what seems to be a deliberate word play on עֲכֹר referred to four times within a few verses, Jos. 7 nonetheless preserves the עֲכֹר spelling throughout. In Josephus' telling of the Achan story it is the ACHAR spelling which is given.²

By TC's time, the story is obviously linked so closely with ACHAN, that TC feels obliged to insert his identifying expansion: Achar, i.e. Achan. He then goes on to give a very brief summary of the outcome of Achan's Misdeed, when they (i.e. the children of Israel) fled and fell before the men of Ai, - that disaster which seemed such a bad omen for God's people in their new land, until Achan's crime was dealt with. TC's expansion is explanatory, requiring no further comment and the only minor change occurs in the preceding phrase: 'the troubler of Israel': עֲכֹר, a participle in MT, becomes a relative clause עֲכֹרֶךָ in TC.

The presence of Achan, however, raises a problem especially in the realm of identifications. When Achan appears in Rabbinic tradition, he is normally thought of as:

- (a) the man who (among other crimes) appropriated material which was under the חָרָם;
- (b) the man who suffered death by stoning;

1. p. 16

2. Ant. V, 33.

(c) the great penitent whose confession made atonement for him and who found a place in the world to come.

In m. San. VI, 2, a place is found for Achan in the world to come by a consideration of the sentence, "The Lord shall trouble thee this day" (Jos. 7:25), the argument being "this day thou art to be troubled, but thou art not to be troubled in the time to come".

t. San. IX, 5, uses a slightly different argument. It quotes I Chr. 2:6 naming the five sons of Zerah, but finds the secret in the ending "five of them in all". Such a comment, apparently, is so obvious, and therefore unnecessary, unless it has some special meaning other than the obvious. The 'special meaning' is that all five are still together in the world to come, i.e. that in spite of his sin "even Achan is with them in the world to come". But Achan's name is not mentioned in the five! Achan must therefore be identified with one of them; now sometimes Achan and Heman are identified, but it is more likely that he is being identified here with Zimri. b. San. 44b actually makes the identification explicit: כתיב זמרי וכתיב

לכך. And the same section goes on to record a discussion between Rab and Samuel on the subject of which name was prior, one maintaining that the man's real name was Achan, and that he is called Zimri, זמרי מעשה מעשה. As we know so little of the actions of the Zimri of I Chr. 2:6, we must conclude from this that the Zimri referred to in the above quotation is the Zimri of Num. 25 for there at least we have the possibility of a basis for the identification, viz., either that both men had despised God's commands and met violent deaths at the hands of God's servants, or that both men had been thoroughly immoral, this latter aspect with regard to Achan being stressed, e.g. in b. San. 44a. Thus, b. San. 44a-b makes the

identification of Achan and Zimri explicit and that this is the Zimri of Num. 25 is implicit.¹ Vay. R. IX. 1 also takes this approach but uses a further argument which puts beyond doubt that the Zimri referred to is the Zimri of Num. 25. In trying to answer the question as to why Achan is called Zimri, "The Rabbis said: Because the Israelites were cut down through him". In BDB² we do in fact have a second root צמץ to trim, prune.

Achan, then, is identified sometimes with the Zimri of Num. 25, sometimes with the Zimri of I Chr. 2:6, which would imply, and clearly did imply for the Jewish scholars, e.g. Vay. R. IX. 1, that Zimri son of Salu and Zimri son of Zerah are the same person. Such complications did not worry unduly the Jewish scholars. Indeed the very introduction of Zimri in this verse in TC, I Chr. 2:7, causes several complications, as may be seen from the following equations:

I Carmi = Zimri son of Salu = Achan

Carmi = Achan, i.e. father = son

II Carmi = Zimri, son of Zerah, but this Zimri is the father of Achan (I Chr. 2:7 TC). If the Zabdi/Zimri argument is valid, then according to MT of I Chr. 2:6, 7 and Jos. 7:1, Zimri/Zabdi is the grandfather of Achan. Thus Carmi = Zimri/Zabdi, i.e. father = grandfather.

To take I and II together:

Carmi = Achan

Carmi = Zimri/Zabdi

Achan = Zimri/Zabdi; i.e. son = grandfather.

1. Cf. y. San. 23b.

2. p. 274.

To the Western mind, then, the introduction of Zimri at this point in TC raises complications and seeming absurdities. It ought to be remembered, however, that this is talmudic "exegetical logic" at its best. When an attempt is made to drive home a certain homiletical point, tribal, family, and even generation barriers are swept aside and completely disregarded. The expositors are in fact saying: we are trying through personality, to stress just how evil evil is, and rather than use several evil persons as separate illustrations, all the persons are identified, and the resultant 'composite person' is shown to be exceptionally evil, and the appropriate lessons drawn therefrom. It is as though they have chosen the option of one massive, concentrated explosion rather than a number of smaller bombs - and the result is deafening, and not likely to be forgotten.

Four concluding points must be made:

1. As often, the basis for a later expansion may be found in the Biblical text itself. In Jos. 7:1, and by comparison in I Chr. 2:6f, Zerah is the great-grandfather of Achan; in Jos. 7:24 Zerah is the father of Achan. Applying the same principles as have been applied in the equations listed above, we could deduce, from the MT, that Zabdi = Achan.

2. The appearance of Carmi in I Chr. 2:7 (MT) is rather like that of Elijah before Ahab - sudden and unheralded. In Jos. he is a son of Zabdi and Rudolph¹ would like to insert a similar phrase in I Chr. 2:7 to link him up with Zimri in the preceding verse, giving the following:

וְבוֹי זִמְרִי כִרְמִי וְבוֹי כִרְמִי. It is perhaps possible that the very fact that TC adds a short comment on Carmi was because

1. p. 10 (following ROTHSTEIN).

the text before him seemed unsatisfactory and raised some query in his mind about Carmi - which may suggest that TC was using the same text as we have in MT, not as Rudolph would like us to have it. Yet this does not wholly account for the rather odd equation of Carmi with Zimri. I have been unable to find this identification elsewhere and I suggested earlier the possibility of a 'sound' basis for the identification. There may be a further possibility. It may be that it had been TC's original intention to identify Achan and Zimri as had been done already, e.g. b. San. 44b. To insert זמרי הוא after עכך, however, was going to introduce two identifications in series, and would tend to make rather perilous the status of the following relative clause. But he was very anxious to bring in Zimri somehow: this he did by placing זמרי as close to עכך as possible; it was not possible to place him immediately before עכך as this would spoil the very important עכך - עכר link; he therefore inserted זמרי in the only place left, viz., before עכר. This now left זמרי 'out on a limb' as it were, so, bearing in mind that כרמי was a rather hazy figure with some doubt as to his identity, TC linked these two together. Thus in TC, the verse gives us after Achar the identification with Achan followed by the abbreviated history of Achan's misdeeds; by unobtrusively placing Zimri, with all the memories which this name would call up in the believer's mind, before Achar, TC has succeeded in 'evilising' Achan even further. In this instance the stress is very heavily upon the evil aspect of Achan's life, as TC does not give any hint of some of the other sides to his character,

e.g. his penitence.¹

3. It is of interest that in the Rabbinic discussions concerning Achan, any additional etymological suggestions are based not on עכר but on עכן, e.g. b. San. 44b, in the continuation of the discussion between Rab and Samuel referred to above - Zimri is his name: Why then is he called עכן? שפיכן עונותיהון של ישראל. As the name עכר is found only in I Chr. 2:7, one would have expected TC to seize the opportunity to use עכר for some kind of homiletical teaching or imaginative expansion. Instead, he swings back deliberately to the traditional approach by bringing in the name עכן and thereafter following closely his Biblical text. What was the role of the Targumist? Was it simply to reflect and pass on some of the traditional teaching around him? Was it also to be a creator of new tradition? Here it would seem that the emphasis was on the traditional aspect for he seems to have thrown away an excellent opportunity to redress the balance in favour of עכר, by giving us at least one fresh expansion based on this root.

4. In the Syriac tradition, Achan, like Zimri, son of Salu,² is used as a good argument for virginity, i.e. it would have been better had his parents not brought him into the world. In that he stands over against Joshua, an additional strand appears: there is a certain

'typology' introduced with Joshua and Jesus: משם כהן ויהוה
לנו, ויהי עמנו משה ויהוה לנו

1. There may be a connection between עמר and עמר on "occupational grounds". עמר may be connected with עמר vineyard. The three occurrences of II עמר in Lev. 25:3, 4 and Is. 5:6 each refer to pruning a vineyard. If this is the ground for the identification in our present context, there is certainly no reference to it, and no obvious lessons are drawn from it.

2. See above, p.121, note 3.

1. מן האמת! שבתם. ו, ויב מ דסל, מן-ל.

It is as though Aphrahat were saying in good Targumic tradition, Achan, i.e. Judas!

TARGUM and PESHITTA

An examination of the versions yields little of value: The Vulgate:

1. For Filii Charmi Achar MSS C and Σ, of Spanish provenance, read Filius Zabdi Charmi filius Charmi Achan. But this reading is so clearly influenced by Jos. 7, as to have little significance in our context.
2. For ל ישראל עוכר Vulgate reads qui turbavit Israhel, i.e. a participial clause has become a relative clause, exactly as in TC. If this simple grammatical change in the Vulgate were accompanied by one or two more parallels to TC it would be of value, but, as it is not, it has little to offer us, being a normal alternative possibility which any translator might use.

PC follows MT exceptionally closely with one slight variant in 7 a 1 where עוכר becomes אבנא (hindrance); this is clearly a scribal error for אבנא; (hinderer, troubler), as indeed is read by 6 h 13, 8 a 1, 9 a 1, and Edd.

In Arm., for ארסאן (עוכר) there is a variant reading ארסאן (destroyer, corrupter), and while Khal's version is rather more prolix "And the son of Charmi, Achar, who made Israel to tremble and transgressed with regard to the sworn offering", neither of these can be regarded as having any close connection with either TC or PC.

1. Dem. XXI-10; NEUSNER, Aphrahat, p. 105.

Thus while TC has its expansions, none of these can be said to be reflected in PC, which follows MT very closely.

I Chr. 2:9

THE SONS OF HEZRON

2:9

MT, with Targumic expansion underlined.

"And the sons of Hezron who were born to him in Timnath:
Jerahmeel, Ram and Chelubai."

This one-word addition, בְּתִמְנַח, is a good illustration of the principle that rabbinic expansions have their root already in the biblical text. In MT, the relative clause "who were born to him", if complete, seems superfluous; as it stands however, it sounds incomplete, and we are left, as it were, waiting for the last note to complete the bar - but it never comes. TC has completed it by inserting an adverbial expression, which locates the birthplace of the three sons - in Timnath. In the Old Testament, however, we are not told that Timnath was the birthplace of Hezron's sons, nor are we told that it was Hezron's home. We must assume, initially, that it is a reference to the Timnah to which Judah was travelling to see how the sheep-shearing was progressing (Gen. 38:12f) when he was waylaid by his daughter-in-law, Tamar, who, as a result, bore him Perez and Zerah. It is not stated that Timnah was their birthplace either.

There is uncertainty, even today, about the exact site of Timnah, an uncertainty shared by the Rabbis. It is in their discussion as to whether Judah's Timnah was the same as Samson's Timnah in Jud. 14:1, or whether in fact they were two, that we begin to see the importance of the place and its significance in TC.

In b. Soṭ. 10a, Samson's going down to Timnah is contrasted with Judah's going up. The point is made that because Samson was disgraced in Timnah it is written that he went down to Timnah; and because Judah was exalted in Timnah, שנתעלה בה, it is written that he went up to Timnah. There is also a simple geographical explanation put forward which discusses the possibility of one or two towns of that name. But bearing in mind Judah's somewhat shabby conduct we are left puzzling as to how Judah could be regarded as exalted in it (unless נתעלה 'lifted up' could be construed as meaning 'set up', which would be nearer the truth).

y. Soṭ. 17a also discusses the geographical possibilities, but it has an additional element: it suggests that Samson's alliance contracted there had a non-religious, Judah's a religious intention. The use of such adjectives, however, still leaves the matter rather vague!

In Ber. R. LXXXV. 6, when the geographical discussion looks at the possibility of there being only one Timnah, the natural question arises: "Why then is both ascent and descent mentioned in connection with it? Because for Judah it was an ascent, since he produced kings . . .". This is most probably a reference to the fact that Judah, through Perez, was the ancestor of David. It would appear, then that the Rabbis regarded Perez as being born in Timnah and TC regarded his grandchildren as being born there too.

We can say the following about TC:

1. He has completed the incomplete by rounding off with an adverbial expression a rather clumsy relative clause.
2. He has made clear and explicit what in the MT is implied, or perhaps only partially implied, viz., that Perez and his grandchildren were born at Timnah - wherever it may have been!

3. For him, Timnah is not simply a place, but - bearing in mind his progression to 2:15, and the comments in Ber. R. - the place where the line of Perez begins; and the significance of Perez can be seen in Ruth where, in spite of Nachshon's importance, twice it is clear that his is the first and leading name in the line¹ until we reach David.

4. If it is accepted that for 'kingly reasons' Timnath is a very important place for TC, there seems to be a possible link with Ber. R. for it is only there that the kingly emphasis comes clearly to expression, in spite of the foot-note to נתעלה בה in the Soncino edition of the Babylonian Talmud, "Perez was born there from whom David was descended".²

TARGUM and PESHITTA

1. It is interesting that the so-called 'object-maker' נת in MT, which does not usually follow a passive verb, נולד is retained in TC - interesting, because the Targumist so often tries to simplify that which is difficult. Here TC is retaining what, to us at least, is a rather difficult construction. The very fact that he does retain it, and that it is found elsewhere in MT, e.g. Gen. 4:18,³ may indicate that it was not such a difficult construction after all. PC, however,

1. Ruth 4:12, 18. J. A. BEWER, 'Zur Literarkritik des Buches Ruth' in Theologische Studien und Kritiken (1903), pp. 502-506, however, regards ויהי ביתר כבית פֶּרֶץ as a mis-reading for an original ויהי ביתר פֶּרֶץ, and as the mention of Perez in the genealogy in 4:18ff. was based on this 'mis-reading', its value is severely questioned. Even if this is true, such factors would not have troubled TC unduly. I am grateful to Dr D. R. G. Beattie for drawing my attention to this reference.

2. A. COHEN (translator) The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Nashim, Sotah, (1936) p. 47. n. (3).

3. See GK. §121, a, b.

does not insert \ , but simply treats the three names involved, as subjects, in apposition to בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל .

2. The נִזְכָּר followed by a plural subject was found also in I Chr. 2:1, and all the versions make it plural, here as there.

3. The influence of LXX on Arm. is seen quite clearly in this verse, where, for כָּלֹנִי , LXX has Ἀναλ και Αεμ ; Arm. has ܐܢܐ ܕܢܚܫܢ !

4. For כָּלֹנִי PC reads ܫܠܝܢ , for which I can find no explanation except that ܬ has become corrupted to ܫ , and ܬ to ܢ , the latter being more likely to happen than the former. If indeed Caleb is the man in question,¹ it is to be noted that in 2:18, 19, where ܕܠܒ appears in MT, PC reads ܕܠܒ .

Apart from 4, which may be the result of inner Syriac corruptions, PC departs from both MT and TC in disposing of the יֵת/אֵת ; but this is understandable. Of the main TC addition בְּתַמְנוֹת , PC shows no trace.

I Chr. 2:10-12

THE ANCESTRY OF DAVID

2:10

MT "... and Amminadab was the father of Nahshon, prince of the sons of Judah."

TC "... and Amminadab was the father of Nahshon, leader of a clan of the sons of Judah."

At first sight MT seems to accord Nahshon adequate honour by calling him נָשִׂיא בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה : TC adds little by describing him as רֹב בֵּית אָבִי לְבָנֵי יְהוּדָה . By using רֹב , TC tends slightly

1. Cf. RUDOLPH, p. 12.

to downgrade Nahshon, for רב can be a rather elastic title, which could describe a leader of very great stature or a leader of not-so-great stature. It may be, of course, that by TC's day the term נשיא was no longer understood; this, however, seems unlikely for the name of R. Judah הנשיא must have been reasonably well known in Rabbinic tradition and thereby not only the title but as well its connotation of honour must have been preserved. Whether the next expression in the targumic treatment of Nahshon enhances his reputation is also problematic: from being prince of the sons of Judah in MT, he is in the Targum rather more restricted, a clan leader of the sons of Judah, which seems to imply a narrowing of his responsibilities. On the other hand, it could be said that the use of a term which appears often in MT of Chr., בית אב, introduces a distinct note of community solidarity to the title, and an examination of the titles of the twelve "princes" in Num., eleven of whom are called נשיא in MT, shows that Ps. Jon. followed the same pattern in Num. 7 as TC has adopted here.

In the O.T., Nahshon has an exalted position. As a brother-in-law of Aaron¹ he is well connected. In the wilderness he appears as prince of the sons of Judah,² is the first to present offerings and sacrifices in the Tabernacle³ and, when the people set off from Sinai, he is in charge of the vanguard.⁴ His name is also listed in Ruth 4:20 as one of the vital connecting links in the genealogical line from Perez to David.

1. Ex. 6:23

2. Num. 2:3

3. Num. 7:12

4. Num. 10:14

In the Talmud and Midrash, Nahshon achieves further distinction: it was he who was the first to plunge into the Red Sea when the great crossing began,¹ and it was because of this action that he was selected to be first to offer at the Tabernacle² as leader of his tribe, and because of his so offering, he was 'the chief of the princes'.³ Bem. R.⁴ looks at it from another angle - that it was because of his kingly status that he was chosen to be first to offer at the Tabernacle: "Nahshon led off by presenting an offering to symbolise authority, since his father had appointed him king over his brethren".⁵ His greatness is further enhanced by stressing that it was an offering from his own property that he made, not from that of his tribe. We find this emphasis on leadership in the Syriac tradition also. For Aphrahat "the blessing" comes through Nahshon, head of the children of Judah, and from him come leadership and kingship.⁶

Occasionally, however, one is aware of a slightly discordant note, viz., the suggestion that his leading role had made him arrogant.⁷

If "reverence for the fathers" is one of the Targumists' characteristics, there is scarcely any need for our Targumist to ply his trade so far as Nahshon is concerned, as his work has already been so well

1. e.g., b. Sot. 37a; Bem. R. XII. 21. Pesikta Rabbati 7. 1.

2. e.g., Bem. R. XIII. 5, 7; Pesikta Rabbati 7. 6. In Pes. Rab. there is some word-play between נחשון and נחשול billow.

3. Ber. R. XCVII. cf. Qoh. R. 11. 2.

4. XIII. 14.

5. cf. also Bem. R. XIII. 17.

6. Dem. XXIII - 16. reference from J. NEUSNER, Aphrahat p. 115.

7. Bem. R. XII. 20; XIII. 8.

done for him in the O.T. When we look at the Targums this is in fact what we find - the Targums add nothing new to Nahshon.

There are, however, two references which are of considerable importance:

1. In Num. 7:12, when the offerings are being presented, we are simply told in MT **נחשון בן עמינדב למטה יהודה**. Apart from one slight variation for Issachar, the formula used for the other ten tribes is: "A, **נשיא לבני - B**". Indeed, the only one for whom the title is not used is Nahshon, the one who offered first and who was regarded by the Talmud and Midrash as more exalted than all the rest. This has come about, either because the writer felt that there was no need to state the obvious, or because of a scribal error: LXX has **νῆαχ**, and Pesh. Syr. **ܢܫܝܐ**. The former alternative is not very satisfactory and it is difficult to give any standard reason for the latter. This is a case where it seems best to follow the dictum: *lectio difficilior potior*, which leaves us with the MT.

In Neo I's handling of Num. 7, in 7:12 it remains quite close to MT, for **מן שיבטה רבנוי דיהודה למטה יהודה** giving **מן שיבטה רבנוי דא**, but for the other eleven the formula: **רב שיבטה רבנוי דא** is used, except in 7:24 where the **רב** is missing possibly through a scribal error and in 7:60, where **רב** has become **בר** possibly through a printing error.

In Ps. Jon. to Num. 7:12 we have **רב בית אבא לשיבטה** **ד יהודה**, and for the other eleven "princes", though the formula varies slightly in the second half of the phrase, the first part consistently remains **רב בית אבא**.

2. In Ruth 4:20, when the genealogical line from Perez to David is listed Nahshon's name only is given in MT, but in Tg. this has the

addition **רַב בֵּית אֲבָא לְבֵית יְהוֹרָה**, which is also very similar to TC. Tg. Ruth then hurries on to deal at considerably greater length with Nahshon's son, Salma.

From the above, the following may be said:

1. The Targums, including TC, add nothing new to the O.T. picture of Nahshon.
2. Indeed, the targumic picture may be just a little less rosy than that of the O.T., as we see, e.g. in TC where his title is not quite so magnificent as in MT, both his appellation and his bailiwick being slightly reduced.
3. It may be that this somewhat-less-than-perfect picture of Nahshon may be echoing some of the implied criticism of him found, e.g. in Bem. R. XII, 20.
4. In the formulae looked at in Num. 7, it is interesting that in Ps. Jon. the same title **רַב בֵּית אֲבָא** is used for all the leaders including the one who by being given the privilege of offering first was clearly singled out from among his brother princes, and who elsewhere in the wilderness wanderings was seen to be head and shoulders above his brethren. It may be that a certain 'levelling-down' process is at work in Ps. Jon., or, perhaps he is trying to implement the principle underlying Deut. 17:20 'that his heart may not be lifted up above his brethren'! It is of interest, however, that neither in Ps. Jon. to Num. 7, nor in Tg. Ruth 4:20, nor in TC, is there any echo of the especially glowing tributes to Nahshon in Talmud and Midrash.
5. The fact that the phrase used of Nahshon in Tg. Ruth 4:20 and in TC is so similar to that found in Ps. Jon. to Num. 7 may suggest that both the former are to some extent dependent on the latter, or at

TARGUMIC EXPANSION"The three of them mighty men."

MS. V Points גִּבּוֹרִים i.e. men. But as this would make the comment completely tautologous, one assumes that it would be more correct to read it as גִּבּוֹרֵי יְהוָה i.e. mighty men, heroes. This makes it a straightforward informative comment which simply documents the well-known reputation of these men who feature prominently in David's struggles to reach the throne and to remain on it. Obviously they are not "the three" who are listed in II Sam. 23:8-39, even though I Chr. 11:20 makes Abishai the chief of the three, but it is difficult to know whether the second part of the verse contradicts this, or whether we should read in the first part of the verse with PC, that he was "chief of the thirty". Asahel is mentioned first in I Chr. 11:26 among "the mighty men of the armies". Joab features in neither list but he is well known for his valiant and sometimes foolhardy exploits.

The comment then, adds little, except to underline the bravery of the three men mentioned, confirmation of which can be found in various places in the historical books.

2:17 TARGUMIC EXPANSION

MT ואביגיל ילדה את עמשה ואבי עמשה יתר הישמעאלִי

TC ואביגיל ילדה ית עמשה ואבא דעמשה ית ישראל

והיו צורחין ליה יתרישמעאלא מסול דדריז ית חרצוי

בסיפא למסייעא ית דויד הי כערבאה כד בעא אבנר

למרחקא ית דויד וכל גניסת ישי דלא ידכון למיעל בקהלא ד... על
עִסָּק רות תואביתא

TC. "And Abigail brought forth Amasa, and Amasa's father was

Jether the Israelite, and they called him Jether, the Ishmaelite,

because he girt his loins with a sword to help David, like an Arab,

when Abner sought to remove David and all the family of Jesse, because

they were not eligible to enter the assembly of Yahweh because of the affair of Ruth the Moabitess.

Moabites and Ammonites are for ever excluded from the congregation of Israel: this seems to be the only conclusion possible in Deut. 23:4: לא יבא עמוני ומואבי בקהל יהוה. What then about Ruth? Or, to be more explicit - What about David, her illustrious descendant? Had he any right at all to sit on Israel's throne as the leader of God's people? This question must have caused considerable fluttering in the more orthodox dove-cotes, especially when throne-rights were involved, or when Messianic origins were being discussed, or when mixed marriages were endangering the very existence of God's people, or when nationalism was making life difficult for those whose ancestry was open to question. Echoes of the problem are found in various Jewish documents, and the best point of entry to the discussion is to look at the one who initiated the problem, Ruth the Moabitess.

In MT of Ru. 2:10-12, Ruth expresses appreciation to Boaz, for taking notice of her ואנכי נכריה. The Moabite aspect of the "foreignness" is not mentioned and the implications of the law in Deut. 23:4 are either unknown or disregarded or seen as not being applicable in this instance. Boaz' reply does not display any concern about her legal position; rather he regards her kindness to her mother-in-law and her willingness to leave her own people as more than compensating for her foreignness.

The Targum as is to be expected, cannot allow this disregard of the Moabite question to pass without comment. It has two possible alternatives: either to state that as a Moabitess Ruth had no place in God's people, with the horrendous implications this would have for the very status of Israel, or to give a clear-cut reason as to why

Ruth must be regarded as having a right to belong to God's people.

Thus in Tg. Ruth, the dialogue follows a slightly different course from MT:

2:10 "And she fell upon her face and was prostrate on the ground and she said: 'Why have I found favour in your eyes that you should acknowledge me, since I am of a foreign people, of the daughters of Moab who are ineligible to enter the congregation of Yahweh'".

The reason for Ruth's surprise at such deferential treatment from Boaz in MT, וַאֲנֹכִי נִכְרִיָּה, has become in Tg: וַאֲנִי מַעֲמִיזָה
נוֹכְרָא מִבְּנוֹתֵיהֶן דְּמוֹאב דְּלֹא אֲרֻכִּי לְמַעַל בְּכְנִישָׁתָא דִּי יְיָ

Ruth has now posed the question in its sharpest possible form and makes it clear that in her view, the prohibition in Deut. includes all Moabites. How could she have known that, about the time that she was leaving Moab, the scholars had been looking at this very law and had repromulgated it,¹ but with an important amendment which Boaz hastens to declare? Tg. Ruth 2:11 "And Boaz answered and said to her: 'It has most certainly been told me about the edict of the sages, that when Yahweh made a decree concerning you (עֲלֵיכִין) his decree included only males . . .'" גִּזְרֵן אִילָהֶן עַל גּוֹבְרִיא

The amendment quoted by Boaz which had most certainly been told him, and which had such far-reaching implications, is clearly a reference to m. Yeb. 8:3, which in effect states that Deut. 23:4 means exactly what it says, that no עַמּוֹנִי nor מוֹאָבִי i.e. no male Ammonite nor male Moabite can enter the congregation, but as no

1. The fact that Mahlon and Chilion had married Moabites before 'the new law' raised many problems: Did Ruth and Orpah convert? Did they remain 'spiritual Moabites'? For a discussion of this see LEVINE, pp. 48f, and D. R. G. BEATTIE, Jewish Exegesis of the Book of Ruth (1977) pp. 170-173.

reference is made to עמוניות or מואבית the prohibition does not extend to them: עמוני ומאבי אסורים ואסורין אסור עולם אבל נקבותיהם מתרות מירדן

References to this halakhah, the discussion which led to it and the discussion which followed it, appear in various places. Of immediate interest in our context are Midr. Teh. 1. 2, and Pes. Rab. 49. 2. which simply refer to the mishnah, and Ruth R. IV. 3 and Pes. Rab. 29/30A. 1. Both the latter base their comments on Ruth 2:11 ותלכי אל עם אשר לא ירעה תמול שלשום. The former though not referring to the halakhah as such suggests that the decision was quite recent, and the latter is more explicit and adjusts his biblical text accordingly "And in saying thou art come unto a people which a short time ago thou wouldst not have been permitted to know, Boaz meant: Had you come a short time ago, we could not have accepted you as a proselyte, because the new interpretation of the law concerning proselytes had not yet been established the new interpretation being as follows: ". . . a Moabite man may not marry an Israelite woman, but a Moabite woman may marry an Israelite".

Fortunately for Boaz and Ruth, a happy coincidence has removed any barrier to their marriage, and for them, and more especially for David, all is well.

In TC, I Chr. 2:17, there is a similar, though more indirect reference to this halakhah; part of the verse is very close to Tg. Ruth 2:11, and even closer to Tg. Lam. 1:10, though in the last Targum no reference at all is made to the halakhah.

TC	דלא ידכון למיעל בקהלא דיי
<u>Tg. Ruth</u>	דלא אידכי למיעל בכנישתא דיהודא
<u>Tg. Lam.</u>	דלא ידכון למיעל בכנישתא דילך

But in TC, there is an additional component in the story, involving some of David's and Saul's friends and relatives. TC I Chr. 2:17 seems, in fact, to be a two line summary of a long drawn out discussion in b. Yeb. 76b and 77a. The two main protagonists in the debate are Doeg, the Edomite, better known for the leading part he played in the massacre at Nob, now an outstanding scholar and brilliant debater though his days will soon be cut short by leprosy, and Abner, massive in size and equally massive in learning though not quite so incisive in debate as Doeg. As David goes out to meet Goliath, Saul makes enquiries as to David's father from Abner, who is forced to plead ignorance. As this could be regarded as being a contradiction of an earlier verse, I Sam. 16:21, where Saul seems to know David well, R. Abba suggests that Saul was really trying to ascertain whether David were of the line of Perez, or of Zerah, for if he were of the former, Saul's throne might be in jeopardy. Doeg, however, takes the question a stage further back by querying David's right to belong to the congregation of Israel at all because of his descent from Ruth the Moabitess. It does seem strange to hear such words on Doeg's lips, for Deut. 23:8f had placed some restrictions on his race as well! Efforts were made, apparently, to remove Doeg's ethnic liability, by giving אֶדְוִי various meanings, a number of which are listed in Midr. Teh. 52. 4, e.g. "R. Isaac said: Doeg was called the Edomite because he used to redden with shame the faces of all who argued the law with him." Abner counters Doeg's attack on David's ancestry

אמר ליה אבנר תנינא עמוני ולא עמונית מואכי ולא מואבית¹

1. Cf. b. Kid. 67b, Keth 7b, Hul 62b, Yeb 69a, where this halakhah is referred to.

by which, with the permission thus given for females to enter, Ruth's racial blemish is removed. After some discussion the question is referred to the **בית המדרש** and Abner's interpretation is confirmed. With his brilliant dialectic, however, Doeg seems about to confound Abner once more and he is preparing to brand David as "non-eligible" when II Sam. 17:25 comes to the rescue **ועתה כן איש**

זכתיב. The Talmud goes on: **ושמו יתרא הישראלי**

יתר הישמעאלי, referring obviously to the reading of I Chr. 2:17, and then proceeds to reconcile the two readings:

אמר רבא מלמד שהגר הרבו כישמעאל ואמר כל מי שאינו שומע הלכה זו ידקר בחרב כך מקובלני מכיה דינר של שמואל הרמתי עמוני ולא עמונית מואבי ולא מואבית

That this was a long drawn out and perhaps a never wholly satisfactorily resolved controversy can be gauged from the fact that in spite of Jithra's strong arm tactics, the debate continues as to the correctness of this declaration: **עמוני ולא עמונית מואבי ולא**

מואבית. Raba, however, using various Biblical verses, continues to strengthen the interpretation: that Yahweh has 'loosed my bonds' (Ps. 116:16), these bonds for David being two in number, **רוות**

המואבית ינעמה העמונית, and by further exposition of a verse in Gen. and various verses from the Psalms he is able to show that all is well and that David is in the congregation by right.

Versions or fragments of this debate appear in several places, e.g.

(a) y. Yeb. 9c.

Having quoted m. Yeb. 8.3, the discussion begins by looking at the relevant verses in Deut. 23, and then moves on to I Chr. 8:8f where the emphasis is placed on "the fields of Moab" and on Shaharaim, who is Boaz, fathering children from **חדש**. These words are so

interpreted as to make the point that with יִתְרָא, who is here identified with Ruth, a new law is promulgated, allowing Ammonite and Moabite women to marry Israelite men. " . . . אֵלָא עַל יִרְיָה ".
 " נִתְחַרְשָׁה הַלֵּכָה עִמּוֹנִי וְלֹא עִמּוֹנִית מִרְאֲבִית

This leads directly into an attempt to reconcile ITHRA THE ISRAELITE of II Sam. 17:25 and JETHER THE ISHMAELITE of I Chr. 2:17. R. Samuel b. Nahman accepts the latter as correct, viz., Jether the Ishmaelite, and explains how he came to be called 'the Israelite' by recalling the occasion when he burst into the house of study just as Jesse was expounding Isa. 45:22, experienced a Spurgeon-type conversion and received Jesse's daughter as his wife. The view of the other Rabbis is then given, that Jether was originally an Israelite, but received the nickname 'Ishmaelite', because he girded his loins like one, struck his sword in the house of study and threatened with that sword anyone who infringed the law of his master, that Ammonites and Moabites are to be excluded, but not their womenfolk. R. Samuel b. Nahman goes on to state his preference for another explanation, which I assume is meant to refer only to the Ruth-the Moabite question, based on Ruth 1:22 that, on returning from the fields of Moab, she was the first to whom the new law was applied. This is followed by yet another comment based on Ruth 2:11, referring to the newness of the law, that if she had returned from Moab earlier she would have been in difficulty, because the law had only recently been promulgated.

(b) Ruth R. IV. 1

The discussion begins with I Chr. 8:8f, and traverses much the same ground as in y. Yeb. above, though with not quite the same clarity, leading to the new law: 'Ammonite and not Ammonitess, Moabite but not Moabite'. Then we move to the Ithra the Israelite - Jether the

Ishmaelite question, the discussion following the same pattern and arriving at the same conclusion as in y. Yeb. above; and there the discussion ends.

(c) Midr. Teh. 9. 11.

It starts with the Ithra the Israelite - Jether the Ishmaelite question and follows very closely the pattern described in the two previous instances, ending at the same place as Ruth R., thereafter going off in a different direction.

It is unwise to draw too many conclusions from a comparative study of these versions so at this point I try merely to give a summary:

In b. Yeb. Doeg and Abner feature prominently, the starting-point being an attempt to reconcile two verses in I Sam., leading on to the Ruth-the-Moabite problem, which is solved by the confirmation of the law "An Ammonite but not an Ammonitess, a Moabite but not a Moabite". Then follows an examination of two further contradictory verses which refer to Ithra the Israelite and Jether the Ishmaelite respectively; the former is accepted as the original designation, the latter a nickname because of his behaviour which was closely linked with the implementation of the law, "An Ammonite but . . .".

The other accounts (y. Yeb., Ruth R., Midr. Teh.) enter the debate by different routes, but all deal ultimately with the Israelite - Ishmaelite problem, accepting 'Jether the Ishmaelite' as the original designation and explaining 'Ithra the Israelite' as due to the result of a conversion; all three, however, draw attention to the other possibility referred to in b. Yeb. above.

Thus, leaving aside for the moment the last three accounts, there seem to have been originally two separate strands in this story, as we have it in b. Yeb., but the isolating of them is difficult, as is the

attempt to establish on what principle they were eventually fused.

1. The first concerns David's status and after recalling the Ruth story, concludes with the "pronouncement": "An Ammonite . . ."

2. The second is concerned with a 'foreign element' in David's family, and revolves around a seeming contradiction between two verses, in which the same man is given two very different titles, an Ishmaelite and an Israelite. This problem too is resolved and a rather more forceful 'pronouncement' made: "An Ammonite . . .".

What brought the two strands together may have been the 'foreign elements' in David's family. This may be why the 'pronouncement' and what led up to it in the second strand seem so artificial. The alternative approach, found e.g. in y. Yeb. would have been much more appropriate here, because it would simply have been a further example of a principle already established, i.e. Ruth, the Moabitess, having been accepted, there would be no reason why Jether the Ishmaelite could not be accepted too. Of course, the whole atmosphere of the b. Yeb. debate is much more stormy, and this may have necessitated the introduction of an equally stormy character, such as an Ishmaelite would represent. It may also be that the emphasis in b. Yeb. represents a much more uncompromising approach and a desire to play down the 'foreign elements' as much as possible, even to the extent of denying, if at all possible, that such elements existed, and saying therefore - "The starting point in this debate is - Jether is an Israelite".

Now to look a little more closely at this second 'strand', the Ithra the Israelite - Jether the Ishmaelite problem. Though the names and titles in MT differ slightly in form, it is clear that the same person is referred to in both texts - in each, he is husband of

Abigail, and father of Amasa. The real difficulty is that II Sam. 17:25 calls him ישראל, I Chr. 2:17 calls him ישמעאל. One Hebrew MS, of I Chr. 2:17, Kenn. 172 reads ישראל, the comment in de Rossi attributed to R. Benjamin and Kimchi being: "Sed quia habitavit in terra Ismael, hic Ismaelita appellatur":¹ one MS., Kenn. 226,² omits the word as do the Syriac and Arabic versions. Otherwise the versions favour the MT, with an exception in LXX, where a b f g and y presuppose ישראל.

Looking at both texts in MT, there seem to be two possibilities:

1. A simple unintentional scribal error: this, however, does not really help to establish which the original reading was;
2. A simple intentional scribal error: in this case we would have to settle for ישמעאל,³ as the original reading, because a scribe, for theological reasons, would be more likely to change ישראל to ישראל than vice versa. J. Mauchline adds a simple, but very effective argument to back up ישמעאל as original in II Sam.: "Since no Israelite would be described specifically as an Israelite, as Ithra is here in MT (25), we should read Ishmaelite instead (so LXX^A and I Chr. 2:17)".⁴ Curtis⁵ regards the Sam. reading as "an error of transcription or a Massoretic revision".

Thus, for some reason, the author/editor/scribe of II Sam. did not wish to have a sister of David linked with an Ishmaelite. Whether

1. p. 170

2. DE ROSSI, p. 170

3. Cf. DRIVER, Notes, p. 326.

4. p. 282

5. p. 89

this represents an aversion to an Ishmaelite qua Ishmaelite, or whether it is simply an attempt to keep the family of David as orthodox as possible, it is difficult to say. What is of much greater interest is the fact that the Chronicler, so often regarded as the high priest of orthodoxy, makes no attempt to remove any implied blemish from David's family by the presence of an Ishmaelite within the family circle. Indeed he tells us later, in I Chr. 27:30, that the man in charge of the camels was "Obil, the Ishmaelite". Yet TC seems very anxious to reverse the process and doubly cleanse David's family

(a) by his Ruth the Moabitess reference,
 (b) by removing the Ishmaelite taint from David's sister's marriage arrangements. Is there any obvious reason for TC's behaviour? Or is there, perhaps, some historical incident reflected here? This really puts the problem one stage further back - is there some historical-theological controversy behind the debate in the Babylonian Talmud, e.g. b. Yeb. 76b and 77a? And if so, was it the Ishmaelite emphasis which created the problem? It is here that our argument is in danger of ending up in a cul-de-sac, for this last question highlights the basic problem - Who or What are the Ishmaelites.

In the Old Testament, we meet Ishmael as the son of Hagar by Abraham who is forced to expel mother and son because of a personality clash between Hagar and his wife, Sarah. Abraham, however, is depicted as being not unkindly disposed to Ishmael, and these two attitudes personified in Abraham and Sarah, a kind of love-hate relationship, persist through the Old Testament and into later Judaism.

In the Old Testament, Ishmael occurs several times as a name, and its holders are sometimes good, sometimes bad, In Gen. we find the Ishmaelites taking Joseph, but there is no hint of any kind of ill-

treatment, but Ps. 83:6 lists the Ishmaelites amongst those nations which had conspired against Israel and her God.

In the Targums - in Ps. Jon. and Fr. Tg. - to Gen. 16:5, Ishmael is linked with Nimrod but in Gen. Chs. 17 and 25 he is mentioned with no adverse comment. In the Joseph stories in Gen. 37 and 39 none of the Targums imputes any kind of ill-treatment of Joseph to the Ishmaelites who have now become יִרְבּוּאִי (Ps. Jon.) and סִרְקֵי (Neo I).

Ishmael and the Ishmaelites figure in various Rabbinic discussions. Ishmael is regarded as 'that wicked man',¹ disobedient,² an idol-worshipper,³ a molester of women,⁴ and at one point God repents of his having created his descendants. Yet his repentance is also stressed⁵ as well as his pious conduct at his father's burial,⁶ and his leniency.⁷ In Talmud and Midrash the impression is given that he was rather slow-witted, somewhat of a dullard, e.g. the way he is left behind with the ass at the time of Isaac's sacrifice suggests that he and the ass had much in common,⁸ and at times rather violent,⁹ and light-fingered.

1. Ber. R. LXII. 5.

2. Ber. R. LXXI. 3.

3. Shem. R. I. 1.

4. Ber. R. LIII. 11.

5. Ber. R. LXII. 3.

6. b. B. B. 16. b.

7. Ekah. R. I 14§42.

8. Vay. R. XX. 2; cf. P. R. E. Ch. XXX.

9. Shem. R. I. 1.

Indeed Pesiqta Rabbati¹ puts forward as a reason for the Ishmaelites' rejection of Torah their inability to keep the eighth commandment.

Perhaps the most representative picture of them is given in two sentences in Est. R.²: "There are ten portions of robustness in the world, nine among the Ishmaelites and one in the rest of the world".

An interesting comment on the Rabbinic estimate of Ishmael is seen by simply consulting the indices to the Talmuds where we discover that many Jewish scholars were called by his name. Had Ishmael and the Ishmaelites been really hated one doubts if so many would have borne his name; after all, there are not many Christian parents who call a son 'Judas'!

The most tantalising aspect of the Ishmaelite question, however, is the link with the Arabs, whose ancestor tradition has normally identified as Ishmael. The Targums, for example, usually translate "Ishmaelites" as סרצ'ין or ערבא. It is extremely tempting in such passages in Targumic and extra-Targumic literature, to look for covert references to events in the Arab world following the rise of Muhammad. In Ps. Jon. to Gen. 21:21, e.g. where there is a reference to Ishmael's two wives לרישא and פטימא, it is reasonable to assume that here there is a link with Muhammad, the names of whose wife and daughter respectively were Ayesha and Fatima. We have similar but more detailed references in PRE. Ch. XXX. Or it may be possible, though with a little less certainty, to draw some historical conclusions from a reference to mourning customs in b. MK. 24a. The big difficulty is that ערבא is a very plastic term, and can

1. Pes. Rab. 21. 2/3.

2. Est. R. I. 17.

mean 'Arab', 'Arabian',¹ which could have an ethnic or geographical emphasis and the possibility of a wide range of dating. In I Chr. 27:30, the man in charge of the camels, in MT יִשְׁמַעֵאלִי, becomes in TC עֲרַבִּי, which would best be translated as 'nomad', or 'bedouin'. External sanctions, therefore, are very necessary before using this term as a means of making historical inferences. Thus to suggest that in I Chr. 2:17 (TC), where Jether the Ishmaelite is said to be really an Israelite but is called an Ishmaelite because he behaves like an Arab, an attempt is being made to absolve members of the family of the great David from any taint of marital association with aliens as represented by the current cultural environment, and to suggest instead that any seeming association is in fact only one of similarity - and from this to draw historical conclusions as to dating, is unwise.

Unfortunately this still leaves us with the difficulty that whereas the Chronicler saw no reason to change 'Ishmaelite' to 'Israelite', TC, and indeed II Sam., felt it necessary to make the change, and with the unanswered question - Was there some specific reason which obliged TC to make the alteration? Perhaps one should settle for the somewhat vague answer that TC regarded this as a convenient way of introducing some hortatory matter, on the need to be on guard against infiltration in racial-religious affairs, or that Messianic speculation had highlighted the need for a clear statement of the 'correct' origins of the Davidic line. It could be suggested that TC is inconsistent in allowing עֲרַבִּי in I Chr. 27:30 to remain an עֲרַבִּי and not making the same change as with Jether, but this was possibly because

1. JASTROW, p. 1113.

of the fact that while Obil was on David's staff, there is no suggestion of any marital link with his family.

To try then to sum up:

(a) TC follows the line that Jether was originally an Israelite, as in MT II Sam. 17:25, and as in b. Yeb. 76b and 77a, and makes no reference to the tradition, as found e.g. in y. Yeb., that Jether was originally an Ishmaelite who became an Israelite.

(b) Only TC has Jether gird his loins with the sword; the others have the sword in the house of study but not on his person, except for b. Yeb. 77a.¹

(c) In TC, we read: "he girded his loins with a sword to help David like an Arab . . ." and the order of the words makes it rather difficult to see exactly where the point of comparison lies. A parenthetical comment by M. Schwab² in his translation of y. Yeb. suggests à la hâte, though there, with a slightly different word order he does not have the same problem. I feel that in our text, there was a little more militancy involved. Bearing in mind the rough and violent aspect of Ishmael's character it seems to me more likely that a certain 'manifest impulsive roughness', is implied by the use of the simile at this point.

(d) In Midr. Teh. 52:4 quoted above³, Doeg the Edomite is referred to; eight attempts are made to show that he was not an Edomite in the generally understood sense of the term, but that he was called an Edomite because in certain listed ways he acted like Edom; here in TC

1. b. Yeb. 77a has שחר חרבו כיטמעאלי

2. Le Talmud de Jérusalem, 1933, VII, p. 120.

3. p.144 above

we have a similar device employed. Is this perhaps a common Rabbinic technique - to state X is called Y because he is like Y, when some embarrassment would be caused by simply stating that X is Y?¹

(e) Only TC uses the expression כַּעֲרַבְאָהּ, like an Arab; the others mentioned have כִּישְׁמַעֲלִי.

(f) Le Déaut notes at this point that instead of כַּעֲרַבְאָהּ, which is the reading of MSS V and C, Lagarde has בַּעֲרַכְאָהּ; Sperber's edition also prints this reading, which seems to find favour also with Jastrow,² who translates עֲרַכְאָהּ as registration of legitimacy, citizens' list, giving in this context the meaning "to assist David in establishing his legitimacy of citizenship". There are two things in favour of Lagarde's reading:

- (i) there is so little difference in form between ב and כ that either reading could be correct;
- (ii) כַּעֲרַבְאָהּ in its present position seems out of place, and, because of this, as pointed out in (c) above, it is rather difficult to isolate the "point of comparison"; it would come much more naturally after בְּסִינָא. If בַּעֲרַכְאָהּ is the correct reading it would give much better sense in the present position as in Jastrow's translation above.

There are two things against Lagarde's reading:

- (i) it leaves unanswered the problem of what to do with הִי, which, if Lagarde is right, must have come into the text to give more strength to the following כ ;

1. Cf. p.120 above for a somewhat similar approach. "Zimri is called 'the son of the Canaanitess' because he acted like Canaan".
b. San. 82b.

2. p. 1119

(ii) in spite of the difficulty of the position of כַּעֲרַבָּא , there is a naturalness about "like an Arab" coming so soon after the mention of יִשְׁתַּעֲבֵל , which makes it very difficult to set this reading aside, especially as עַרְבָּא is the normal Targumic explication of יִשְׁתַּעֲבֵל , as e.g. in I Chr. 27:30.

(g) Irrespective of which of the readings discussed in the previous paragraph is the correct one, my biggest problem is the meaning of ABNER in this verse and context. In MT, as a cousin of Saul and commander of his army, his loyalty and his sympathies lie naturally with his king. On Saul's death he transfers his loyalty to Ishbaal, but in due course, gives his full support to David, who makes it very clear,¹ that he had no part in Abner's subsequent murder by Joab. Some of the various traditions about Abner in Talmud and Midrash I have mentioned earlier,² but I have been unable to find any reference to Abner's attempt to remove David from the congregation because of the 'Ruth affair'. There is one reference in Vay. R. XXVI. 2³ where Abner is blamed for preventing the reconciliation of Saul and David. But this seems far removed from what is suggested in TC I Chr. 2:17. Indeed, in b. Yeb. 76b and 77a it is Abner who uses all his energies to defend David when Doeg tries to remove David from the congregation.⁴

(h) The similarity of the expression in TC, I Chr. 2:17, דְּלֹא יִרְכּוּן לְמַעַל בְּקִהְלָא דִּי־י to expressions found in Tg. Ruth and

1. II Sam. 2:28

2. See p.144 above.

3. cf. Bem. R. XIX. 2.

4. cf. Ruth R. IV. 6.

2:18

וּכְלָב בֶּן חֲצִרוֹן הוֹלִיד אֶת עֲזוּבָה אִשָּׁה MT
וְאֶת יִרְיָעוֹת וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵיהָ יִשָּׂר וְשׁוּבָב וְאַרְדּוֹן †

καὶ Χάλεβ υἱὸς Ἐσερῶν ἐγέννησεν τὴν Ἀζούβαν γυναῖκα LXX B
καὶ τὴν Ἰεριωθ. καὶ οὗτοι υἱοὶ αὐτῆς ...

καὶ Χάλεβ υἱὸς Ἐσρωμ ἔλαβεν τὴν Ἀζούβαν γυναῖκα LXX A
καὶ τὴν Ἰεριωθ. καὶ οὗτοι υἱοὶ αὐτῆς ...

ܠܚ ܟܠܒ ܒܢ ܚܥܝܪܐܢ ܗܘܠܝܕ ܐܬ ܥܙܘܒܐ ܗܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ. Arm
ܠܚ ܝܪܝܥܐܘܬ ܕܥܠܝܬܐ ܠܚܐܝܬܐ. ܠܚ ܝܫܐܘܬ ܠܚ ܫܘܒܐ ܠܚ ܐܪܕܐܢ...

Chaleb vero filius Esrom accepit uxorem nomine Azuba de qua Vg
genuit Ierioth fueruntque filii eius . . .

... וּכְלָב בֶּר חֲצִרוֹן אִלִּיד מִן עֲזוּבָה אִנְתִּיָּה TC

ܠܚܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܬܐ ܠܚܐܝܬܐ ܠܚܐܝܬܐ PC
ܠܚܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܬܐ ܠܚܐܝܬܐ ...

The MT of I Chr. 2:18, in its present form, makes difficult reading. If translation is possible, it reads:

"And Caleb, the son of Hezron, became the father of Azubah - Ishah, and Jerioth; and these are her sons, Jeshar and Shobab and Ardon."

Assuming that כִּלְב is the כְּלִיבִי of I Chr. 2:9, the three basic problems are:

1. What is to be done with אִשָּׁה ? Is it a part of the preceding Proper Noun, as in my translation above, or is it a common noun meaning woman or wife?
2. Whichever way we deal with אִשָּׁה , Azubah and Jerioth are daughters of Caleb. But the opening clause of the next verse suggests that Azubah was the wife of Caleb.
3. To whom does the HER of בְּנֵיהָ refer - Azubah or Jerioth?

Already in the Hebrew MSS there are signs of attempts to improve the text; but this is done largely by omission. De Rossi reports,¹ e.g. that some MSS omit אִשָּׁה , some omit the וְאֵת , and some וְאֵת יְרִיעֹת but none of these omissions is particularly helpful in bringing us to a better understanding of the verse.

The Versions try to make the best of a bad job but on the whole they are hardly any more successful. They approach the problem in one of two ways (assuming for the moment that MT is original):

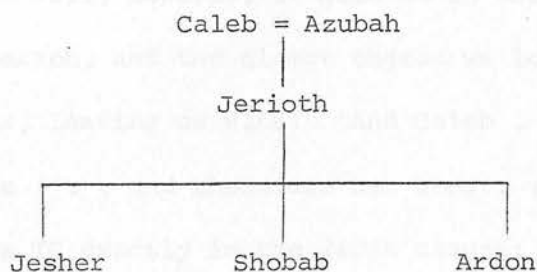
- (a) by changing הַלִּילִי to לָקַח ,
- (b) by retaining הַלִּילִי and sometimes making alterations to the following words.

(a) This is the pattern followed by LXX A, Vg, Arm. LXX A, however, does not benefit very much from the change because, by leaving the

1. DE ROSSI, p. 171.

remainder of the sentence unchanged, it has now provided Caleb with two wives, or rather with one wife properly so called $\tau\eta\nu \text{ Αζουβα} \chi\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha$ and another lady of uncertain status simply designated by $\tau\eta\nu \text{ Ιεριωθ}$. But the ambiguity with regard to HER in the second part of the sentence remains unresolved. By the natural flow of the language HER should refer to Jerioth, but, as Azubah has been specifically called $\chi\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha$, she may be the HER in question.

Vg. and Arm., by inserting after Azubah de qua genuit and בִּלְעֻלָּה respectively, remove the ambiguity by adding a generation. For them Azubah, wife of Caleb, has a daughter Jerioth, and her (i.e. Jerioth's) sons are Though it should be pointed out that in both these cases the possessive pronoun/adjective could also be masculine and refer therefore to Caleb thus subtracting a generation. Alternatively, HER could refer to Azubah - i.e. Jerioth was her daughter and her (i.e. Azubah's) sons were But the former alternative, i.e. three generations, seems more likely.



(b) הַלֵּלִי is retained in its original position by LXX B, TC and PC.

Of all the Versions, LXX B is closest to MT, but its taking אִשָּׁה as a common noun produces a somewhat unusual result: "And Caleb . . . became the father of Azubah, a woman, and Elioth". Elioth is clearly a woman also, because of the Feminine Definite Article used, but as

Ἰαζούβα is preceded by the same Feminine Definite Article it seems unnecessary to make Ἰαζούβα doubly feminine by adding γυναικα. It may be, of course, that both LXX B and MT, by taking אשה as a common noun but meaning wife, are simply using a rather clumsy way of saying that Caleb had two daughters, Azubah and Jerioth: Jerioth had no children or was unmarried and is therefore mentioned simpliciter; Azubah on the other hand, was married and had three sons who are named at the end of the sentence. The translation would then read: "And Caleb became the father of Azubah (who became) a wife and Jerioth; and these are Azubah's sons . . .". It must be stated, however, that this is a very roundabout way of saying something comparatively simple. Apart from the question of meaning, one conclusion can be drawn; viz., that LXX B was depending on a text very close to what we have in MT.

TC also retains הוליר, but makes sense of the first clause by substituting מן for את and adding a 3 m.s. suffix to אשה. Having begun so well, however, it goes on in the expansion to remove Jerioth as a person, and the direct object we look for after הוליר does not appear, leaving us with: "And Caleb . . . fathered from Azubah his wife . . . and these are her sons . . .".

PC follows TC exactly in the first clause: "And Caleb . . . fathered, from Azubah his wife". But unlike TC, it then goes on to retain Jerioth as Azubah's daughter, with three sons. Having made good sense of the sentence so far - apart from some changes in names, e.g.

עזובה becomes לו - PC then introduces a word which is

very difficult to construe. After "her sons" it inserts בְּנֵיהֶם.¹

Here there seem to be three possibilities:

1. בְּנֵיהֶם is the first component of a Proper Noun בְּנֵיהֶם אֵלֶּיךָ.
2. בְּנֵיהֶם is itself a proper noun, the name of a son, as with Lee and Walton. The general practice in the remainder of the sentence, however, is to connect each son to the preceding with a וְ, and there is no evidence of a וְ before אֵלֶּיךָ.

3. S. Fraenkel's suggestion is: "בְּנֵיהֶם (sic!) ist wahrscheinlich verderbt für בְּנֵיהֶם."² i.e. males. Unfortunately Fraenkel does not suggest a reason as to the need for such a word. But if his suggestion is correct the reason for the addition may be that the translator, having seen the strange אֵלֶּיךָ after בְּנֵיהֶם, felt it necessary to insert a word signifying the masculine gender after "her sons". This implies that the translator had already forgotten that a few words earlier he had changed that אֵלֶּיךָ to אֵלֶּיךָ. In 2:34 we have a similar expression, וְלֹא יָלְדָהּ לְהֶם בְּנֵיהֶם, but in 2:34 בְּנֵיהֶם is clearly used to stress that Shoushan had no male children, only בְּנֵיהֶם. There is no hint of such a contrast in 2:18.

4. Read בְּנֵיהֶם מִמָּה or בְּנֵיהֶם מִמָּה i.e. "... her sons whom he called Jesher ...". This would make Caleb the father of the three sons as well as of the daughter, which, as has been shown above, is a possibility. Or "... her sons whom she

1. I am unable to quote 8 a 1's reading as photocopy of the MS is blurred for this part of Ch. 2. BARNES, however, in listing the results of a "comparison of the printed text of Chronicles with the best MSS. at present known" (p. X), gives this word as one of the two corruptions "for which the MSS. supply no remedy"!

2. p. 509; Dr R. P. Gordon has informed me that for בְּנֵיהֶם 17 a 3 has בְּנֵיהֶם and 18 hm 1 has בְּנֵיהֶם, neither of which really helps solve the problem.

called Jeshar . . .".

The last, i.e. 4, in either of the alternative readings, seems the most likely of these suggestions, for it is the only one which supplies a rationale for the presence of the extra word.

Later commentators also try to solve the problems in this verse, some of their attempts reflecting the readings found in the Versions.

BENZINGER, following Wellhausen reads:

וכלב . . . לקח את עזובה בת יריעות . . .

but, not being entirely happy with this reading, notes the possibility that ואת יריעות is simply a gloss, another name for Azubah; cf. J. H. Michaelis for the latter suggestion.

R. KITTEL, now influenced by Vg., now by PC, has two possibilities:

- (i) כלב . . . לקח את עזובה אשה יולד את יריעות
- (ii) כלב . . . הוליד מן עזובה אשתו את יריעות

G. RICHTER was more adventurous and introduced an additional factor:

כלב . . . לכר את עזובה אשת יריעות

but, to complete the sentence he felt it necessary to import from 2:21 the words והוא לקחה .

J. W. ROTHSTEIN, even more imaginatively, regarded יריעות as a corruption of a place-name and read:

כלב . . . לקח (לי) את עזובה לאשה מירמות

(though his context implies that he intended (מירמות). But in a frank reference to this suggestion and to the argument surrounding it he does add "Selbstverständlich bleibt auch dies alles nur eine Vermutung" (p. 21).

E. MEYER takes an approach which one would normally associate with a targumist! While it does not help us with our textual problems,

he finds here a reference to the Calebites' mode of life before they settled down, עִזְבוּרָה suggesting deserta, and יִרְעוֹת 'tents'.¹

W. RUDOLPH,² while rejecting this idea, is more enamoured of the 'Aquila' line, i.e. the first אֵת becomes אֵשׁ . "Und Kaleb . . . zeugte mit Asuba 'seiner Frau die' Jerioth . . .". Here the only change necessary is that, as in TC and PC and Arm. אֵשׁ אֵת becomes אֵשׁ אֵת . His handling of the first אֵת he designates "eine ungewöhnliche . . . aber nicht unmögliche Konstruktion".³

That the MT of this verse presents serious difficulties to both translator and commentator is confirmed by the fact that there are almost as many solutions to its problems as there are commentators.

Before trying to reach any firm conclusion two facts should be stated:

1. That at least one important manuscript of the LXX reproduced MT substantially (whether originally or by revision), with its attendant confusion, is some witness to the antiquity of the reading of MT and must make one cautious before amending MT.
2. The first clause of 2:19 makes it virtually certain that Azubah was Caleb's wife.

One corollary of 2 is that, if הוֹלִיר is to be retained, we cannot regard the first אֵת as the sign of the Direct, Definite Object.

That הוֹלִיר should be retained is clear from the following:

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1. For most of the readings of the above commentators I am relying on ROTHSTEIN, p. 20f.
 2. pp. 23 and 12.
 3. cf. KEIL, p. 63: "The construction הוֹלִיר אֵת "he begat with" is, it is true, unusual, but it is analogous to הוֹלִיר מִן , viii. 9 . . ."

(a) Some of the Versions which substituted $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon v$ etc. were doing so probably in an attempt to simplify the meaning of the sentence.

(b) Some of the Versions which retained $\neg\text{הרל}$ (except LXX B) used other devices to deal with the following נת . Whether these were successful or not is, at the moment, irrelevant. The fact that they used such devices indicates that they were bothered, not by $\neg\text{הרל}$, but by נת - and that $\neg\text{הרל}$ clearly stood in the text before them.

Bearing the above in mind, I feel that the solution which causes least disturbance to MT is that of Rudolph and Keil, - partially adumbrated by TC and PC, - where (a) the נת following $\neg\text{הרל}$ is not regarded as the sign of the direct, definite object, but is translated as "with"; or alternatively we may regard נת as an abbreviation for or a corruption of נתנו ; ¹ (b) נשהו can be regarded as a corruption of נשאו .

Thus the translation would be:

"And Caleb, the son of Hezron, fathered with (or from) Azubah his wife, Jerioth, and these are her sons: Jeshar, and Shobab and Ardon."

There is still a certain ambiguity in the HER, but this notwithstanding, the above seems to me the best reading and translation, which perhaps makes Rothstein's comment ² "Der Text in v. 18^a ist heillos verdorben" a little premature!

It is largely the above translation which we find in NEB: "Caleb

1. CURTIS, p. 92.

2. p. 20.

son of Hezron had Jerioth by Azubah his wife; these were her sons . . .".¹

As pointed out earlier² TC, by inserting מן after הול־ר / אול־ר, makes its own contribution to the text-critical problems connected with the first part of 2:18. But when we are expecting a direct object to אול־ר, we find instead:

- (a) a eulogy of Azubah,
- (b) no trace of her daughter Jerioth,
- (c) the three sons clearly listed as sons of Azubah:

- matters which we shall look at as we examine TC's

TARGUMIC EXPANSION to I Chr. 2:18.

"And Caleb the son of Hezron fathered from Azubah, his wife: and why do they call her Azubah? Because she was barren and despised (reading אֲזוּבָה with Lagarde). And her humiliation was revealed before Yahweh, and she was blessed with children, and she gloried in wisdom, and with wisdom she was spinning goats' hair on the body of the goats (reading אֲזוּבָה with Le Déaut) without their being shorn, for the curtain of the Tabernacle. And these are her sons, Jeshar, Shobab and Ardon."

What has happened is this: the name אֲזוּבָה, in its role as Passive Participle Qal of אָזַב, to leave, abandon, forsake, forms the launching-pad for a flight of fancy where Azubah, so-called from her barren and abandoned state, is blessed by Yahweh with children and with wisdom. We come back on to the Massoretic rails, as it were, when we find her providing the curtain of (אֲזוּבָה) the Tabernacle.

1. See L. H. BROCKINGTON, The Hebrew Text of the Old Testament (1973), p. 75 " אֲזוּבָה - אֲזוּבָה with Pesh".

2. p. 161.

Before attempting to show that this is perhaps not such a flight of fancy as would at first appear, the text of TC itself presents some problems: וְכַאֲיוֹתָא ". . . because she was barren and

כַּאֲיוֹתָא ". This is the reading of MS V, but it is difficult to be sure of the exact meaning of the word. In form it could be:

- (a) an adjective/noun, based on an infinitive;
- (b) the preposition כ prefixed to a noun.

Neither of these lines of investigation has produced any result.

By a small metathesis within the word, however, we have כַּאֲיוֹתָא , which could be taken:

(i) as כ prefixed to a Feminine Passive Participle Peal of a verb יָיִן II,¹ to point, mark. Thus ". . . because she was barren and as a pointed out one" i.e. she was one to be pointed out as an object of scorn etc. because of her barrenness.

(ii) as כ prefixed to a feminine form of the noun אֲיוֹתָא I, serpent². Thus ". . . she was barren and as a serpent" i.e. because of her barrenness she was as much loathed and avoided as a serpent.

I do not feel happy with either of the above suggestions and I think it better to accept the reading of Lagarde בְּדִיתָא , from בְּדִי - despised.

עֲדָיָא is the reading of MS V.

עֲדָיָא = עֲדָיָא , name of a bird of prey, prob. black eagle.³

But this meaning would be impossible in the present context, and

1. JASTROW, p. 24.

2. JASTROW, p. 24.

3. JASTROW, p. 1049.

Le Déaut's suggestion¹ that we read עִזָּהָא goats seems much more plausible. A. Sperber's edition also has עִזָּא, which I assume is intended to be translated goats.

There is, however, another possibility:

for כְּאִירָהָא read כְּאִרְהָא and for כְּעִזָּא read כְּעִזָּא.

אִרְהָא, night bird, owl,² the word Ps. Jon. uses to translate תְּנִשְׁתָּה, one of the unclean birds mentioned in Lev. 11:18. At this verse, TO uses another word of similar meaning בֵּיתָא night bird, owl;³ a kind of owl.⁴ Thus, ". . . she was barren and as an owl", with the built in implication of contempt because of the unclean nature of the bird, and a suggestion of 'forsakenness', because of the solitariness associated with the owl.

עִזָּא = עִרְזָא name of a bird of prey, prob. black eagle.⁵

י עִרְזָא Bird of prey, prob. sea eagle.⁶

In Levy's Lexicon⁷ עִרְזָא, עִרְזָא and עִזָּא are all included under one entry with the meaning river eagle or sea eagle.

In the Tgs. to Lev. 11:13 there is some confusion over the Hebrew and Aramaic renderings. The two Hebrew words involved are פֶּרֶס (BDB⁸ bearded vulture, KB⁹ lamb vulture) and עִזְנָה (BDB¹⁰ some bird "akin to vulture", KB¹¹ black vulture, said to drop living goats into precipices). At any rate both words seem to refer to members of the

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1. II p. 14, n. 6.
 2. JASTROW, p. 36.
 3. JASTROW, p. 135.
 4. LEVY, I, p. 85.
 5. JASTROW, p. 1049.
 6. JASTROW, p. 1049.
 7. LEVY, II, p. 207.
 8. BDB, p. 828.
 9. KB, Lexicon p. 779.
 10. BDB, p. 740.
 11. KB, p. 695.

vulture family. The translations are as follows:

MT	פרס	עזניה
TO	ער	עלזיא
Ps. Jon., FT	עוזא	בר גדא

J. A. Emerton¹ suggests that in the Jerusalem Targums "the order of the words has been accidentally changed".

At any rate it is suggested that in TC, the original reading was כעזיא. Thus "... she was spinning the goats-hair upon their bodies like an eagle/vulture".

The advantages in the above proposed original readings in TC of כאותיא and כעזיא are:

1. Only a minimal change is required in the text of TC in MS V.
2. The 'comparison balance' in the sentence is well maintained, showing that at times the Targumist could be a consummate literary artist.
3. By presupposing these readings as original it is easier to explain the other readings than vice versa: e.g. in MS V a simple scribal error has converted כאותיא into כאיותא and כעזיא into כעזיא. But there may be another factor to be borne in mind.

J. A. Emerton² points out that even among the Rabbis "there was uncertainty about the meaning of some of the words in the list of unclean birds". While he is referring primarily to the Hebrew text it is reasonable to assume that there was some confusion among Aramaic copyists as well e.g.

כאותיא At some point a scribe used the alternative word בותא (כ), and a later scribe, unsure of the meaning of this

1. "Unclean Birds and the Origin of the Peshitta", JSS, VII (1962), p. 209.
 2. op. cit. p. 210.

word, and influenced by the implications of the immediately preceding phrase made the simple change to **בְּזִינָא** .

רַעְזִיא In TC, the expression as it stands, i.e. with **ר** , is redundant. The corresponding sentence in Ps. Jon. to Ex. 35:26 in fact does not have it, because there, no comparison is being made and all that is necessary has already been said in the **נִעְזִי** . It is easy to see how a scribe, copying TC I Chr. 2:18 influenced by what he thought was an 'anticipatory suffix' **וְהָיָה** , and by the similarity of appearance between **נִעְזִי** and **נִעְזִי** , and forgetting for the moment the bird connection in **נִעְזִי** , changed **נִעְזִיא** to **רַעְזִיא** .

There is however, one disadvantage to the reading proposed: with **כְּאִרְיָא** the point of comparison is quite clear:

- (i) contempt associated with an unclean bird, and
- (ii) the solitariness associated with the owl.

But with **כְּעִזִּיא** , the point of comparison is not quite so clear.

When the latter comparison is made, Azubah is on the crest of the wave and the comparison should bring this to clear expression. But when the object of comparison is an unclean bird, as before when for Azubah all was dark and comfortless, there is a sense of anti-climax. It may be that by introducing the "unclean" emphasis in the first comparison, I have opened up a false trail. After all in one of the greatest Old Testament texts, Isa. 40:31, the object of comparison is **נֶשֶׁךְ** , which according to Lev. 11:13 is on the list of unclean birds, and the Targum to Isa. has seen no reason to alter the bird. The before-and-after contrast may be not a contrast between comparison to an unclean bird and (after Yahweh's blessing etc.) comparison to a clean bird, but between comparison to the owl as the bird of solitariness and forsakenness, and the comparison to the eagle as the bird of

strength. Or there may be some allusion to a proverb concerning eagles/vultures and goats¹ of which I am unaware or which may be no longer extant.

TC, having mentioned Azubah, asks as to the reason for her being so-called. Starting from the $\sqrt{\text{בז}}$ meaning, it gives us a picture of a childless woman in deep distress and embarrassment because of her state. Her plight is made known to Yahweh, who intervenes on her behalf and she is blessed with children. Presumably as a thank offering for this, she applies herself diligently to wisdom, or, alternatively, God blesses her further with the gift of wisdom. With this wisdom we see her finally spinning goats' hair for the curtain of the Tabernacle. The wheel has turned full circle: she who had been despised and rejected has now been elevated to a position of the highest honour.

In this expansion TC is interweaving and attaching to Azubah an old tradition which has its origins in a rather ambiguous expression in Ex. 35:26.

In Ex. 25, Yahweh instructs Moses to tell the people to bring him certain materials for the building and furnishing of the Tabernacle. Among the items listed is GOATS' HAIR (25:4). Further details are then given as to how the building and furnishing are to be done, including the making of curtains of GOATS' HAIR (26:7). In due course, after the Golden Calf incident, Moses passes on these instructions to the people, and we have repeated in 35:6 the GOATS' HAIR instruction of 25:4. The people then bring the appropriate gifts including the GOATS' HAIR (35:23). With the necessary materials now available the work

1. cf. KB, p. 695.

begins and in 35:25 the women with ability (אִכְנָה) are spinning various items, and in 35:26, "All the women whose hearts were moved with ability spun the GOATS' HAIR". In 36:14 he (presumably Bezalel) "made curtains of GOATS' HAIR" as instructed in 26:7.

From our immediate point of view the most interesting fact here is that in all the instances listed above where GOATS' HAIR is printed in capitals, MT has אֵזִי, goats. How is this translation anomaly to be explained? In Hebrew, אֵז = she-goat, plural אֵזִי = goats. The Plural, however, seems to have an extended meaning as well, noted by BDB¹ as follows: "goats' hair, as material I S 19^{13.16} Ex. 25⁴ + 6 t. P(35²⁶ obj. of אֵזִי !)"

There are three groups of texts in which English Versions normally translate אֵזִי as goats' hair:

(a) I Sam. 19:13, 16. ARSV "Michal . . . put a pillow of goats' hair at its head . . ." כִּבִּיר הָאֵזִי Driver² is not sure of the meaning here. "The exact sense is uncertain . . . The phrase appears to denote something made of goats' hair in the manner of net-work - probably a quilt." W. F. Albright,³ by showing that כִּבִּיר is linked with כָּבֵד, which in Aramaic and Arabic means "to be large, old", prefers to keep the literal meaning and renders the phrase "old he-goat". The real difficulty is the uncertainty of the meaning of כִּבִּיר, an uncertainty which was felt also by the LXX translators who have μακρὰν τριχὴν, apparently connecting כִּבִּיר with כִּבֵּר liver. The Targ. gives נִרְאָה דְּעִזָּא a cushion of kid-skin,⁴ but the fact that there are several variant

1. p. 777.

2. Notes, p. 157.

3. Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, (1946²), p. 207, n. 63.

4. JASTROW, p. 884.

readings, e.g. גון כה רמעדי , a blanket of goats' hair, indicates that the Targumist too was uncertain as to the exact meaning of the phrase.

(b) Num. 31:20, where in a list of things to be purified after vengeance had been taken on the Midianites, we find וכל מעשה קצ' ארסו : ARSV "all work of goats' hair". Again, the Versions vary, e.g. LXX translates the Hebrew, reasonably literally, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκ τῆς αἰχμῆς ; Syr. mentions 'hair' but omits any reference to goats וכל עובר מעדי קרנא וגרמא. Ethridge¹ translates this as: "and whatever is made of . . . goats' hair, horns or bone". While מעדי came to refer primarily to goats' hair, I feel that here Ps. Jon. is taking it in its basic sense of "whatever comes from goats", which is a more inclusive notion than simply "goats' hair". Perhaps the translation should be "and every product (derived) from goats - viz. horn and bone".

Thus in (a) and (b) there is some uncertainty as to how to translate קצ' ארסו , and in each instance a case can be made out for a literal translation, goats, or for an extended translation, goats' hair. In the third group, however, the issue seems less complicated.

(c) Ex. 25:4; 26:7; 35:6, 23, 26; 36:14. In each instance קצ' ארסו or קצ' ארסו is mentioned. To translate any of these literally, i.e. as goats, would be nonsensical, e.g. 26:7 ועשית יריעתו קצ' ארסו . "And thou shalt make curtains (of) goats"; the mind boggles, though Albright almost succeeded in making a pillow of one! A detailed

1. J. W. ETHRIDGE, The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch. Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy. (1865), p. 453.

comparison of the Versions' handling of these references shows that they went to great pains to ensure that there was no doubt about what was intended and that there are variations even within individual Versions, e.g. Ex. 25:4 עֲזִים becomes τριχας αλφειας (LXX), חֲזִי, חֲזִי, (Syr.), and pilos caprarum (Vg.); or 26:7, רֵעִית עֲזִים becomes δερμεις τριχινας (LXX), חֲזִי, חֲזִי (Syr.), and saga cilicina (Vg.): in the various versions of 26:7, the goats have largely disappeared from the scene leaving only the hair.

In all the passages in this group the Targums - TO, Ps. Jon., Neo. I - translate עֲזִים (ה) consistently by מַעְזִיא / מַעְזִיָּא, which, according to Jastrow¹ means "from goats, goats' hair, horn etc.", i.e. the extended meaning of עֲזִים has, in Aramaic, its own special word, which in its broadest sense refers to "that which comes from goats", but which, in the passages in this group, clearly refers only to "goats-hair".

It is at Ex. 35:26, however, that we have the most interesting targumic treatment:

MT וְכָל הַנָּשִׁים אֲשֶׁר נָשָׂא לִבָּן אֶתְנָה בַּחֲכֹתָהּ שׁוּרֵי אֶת-הָעֲזִים

TO follows MT quite closely and אֶת-הָעֲזִים becomes יַת מַעְזִיא .

Ps. Jon. is very similar to TO, but at the end of the verse, has this addition
עַל גּוּיֵיתָהוֹן וּמִנְפֶּסֶן יִתְהִין כֹּד הַיִּנִּין אֵין
"(were spinning the goats' hair) upon their bodies and hackling them while they were alive".

According to Levy,² "them" refers to the goats which were carrying

1. p. 814.

2. II, p. 121.

the wool, even though the noun 'goats' has not been mentioned: "sie hechelten sie, näm. die, die Wolle tragende Ziehen". This, of course, is possible, as the wool was still on the goats.

If we accept the Encyclopaedia Britannica¹ definition of spinning as "the forming of continuous thread by twisting together several overlapping fibres or filaments", and if we remember that that thread may be a short one, or a long one made up of a number of short ones, there seem to be two possibilities of what is meant by "spinning the goats' hair on their bodies":

- (a) spinning shorter lengths of thread piecemeal from the goats which normally can be very restless if tampered with in any way;
- (b) spinning a continuous length of thread whilst it is still attached to the goat.

(a) is possible, albeit difficult; (b) in the very nature of things is impossible and would require a very large portion of חוכמה for its execution.

Irrespective of which possibility we accept as being in the mind of Ps. Jon. to Ex. 35:26, the 'biblical stimulus' for such an extraordinary interpretation lies in the strange form of the Hebrew text, which, translated literally means "were spinning the goats". As this is obviously out of the question and as it is quite clear that "goats' hair" is meant - we are constantly reminded by commentators that goats' hair is the normal material from which the nomad makes his tent - the Biblical writer clearly wanted to say something special through the peculiar way in which he chose his words. According to Ps. Jon., that "something special" was that the women were spinning the hair

1. V. P. PARTRIDGE in Encyclopaedia Britannica (1973), Vol. 21, p. 34.

whilst it was on the goats.

But it is not only Ps. Jon. who records this tradition. We find it e.g. in:

1. b. Shab. 74b.

In the midst of a discussion of some of the thirty-nine heads of work which are prohibited on the Sabbath, reference is made to SHEARING WOOL AND BLEACHING. In a saying attributed to Rabbah b. bar Ḥanah in R.

Johanan's name, we are told that: הטוה צמר שעל גבי

בהמה בשבת is liable for three sin offerings, because he is shearing, hackling and spinning. The impression created by this statement is that he is thus liable because the processes he is carrying out are quite normal and, as listed here, the order in which he is carrying them out is also normal, and therefore come within the terms of the Sabbath prohibition. Indeed the order in which the processes are listed is so normal that one wonders if על in the attributed saying has been given its full force. The way the second part of the saying is couched suggests that its author construed שמן as שעל.

R. Kahana's reply is that this is not the normal way to go through the processes. The only way I can interpret this is to say that R. Kahana seems to be saying that the על of the original statement must be treated as על, and that if it is so treated the processes above listed are not normal, and because they are not normal, the man is not liable.

In what then seems to be a retort to R. Kahana, the teaching of R. Nehemiah is appealed to: שטור בציים וטור בציים. This is an apparent reference to an interpretation by R. Nehemiah of Ex. 35:26. Three things are to be noted in his interpretation:

- (a) there is no reference to shearing, which seemed to be an intruder in the original statement of Rabban b. bar Ḥanah;
- (b) the על of the original statement is construed as such, and ב is used in R. Nehemiah's interpretation as an equivalent - though the fact that there is a variant מן העדים for the second בעזים indicates that someone was not altogether happy to take על as על !
- (c) the purpose of the appeal to R. Nehemiah seems to be to show that there was precedent for spinning wool on the back of an animal.

With this appeal the issue is settled and the conclusion drawn:

אלמא טוריה על גבי בהמה שמה טוריה. The implication from this I take to be that because of the precedent quoted, there is nothing unusual about spinning on the back of an animal, and that therefore the man is liable.

While that conclusion seems strange (in practical terms, in spite of the precedent), what I find completely baffling is the implication of the next three words which round off the discussion: חכמה יתירה . This I would translate as: "Extraordinary skill is a different matter", i.e. the extraordinary skill involved in spinning 'on the back' puts it in a different category, i.e. it can no longer be regarded as normal - therefore, the man is clear. The difficulty is that up until this point the whole thrust of the argument has been to show that such a way of spinning is normal. Perhaps, then, the interpretation of these three words should be: - the extraordinary skill involved puts it in a different category, i.e. allows it to form an exception to the rule - and so the man is liable.

Whether or not I have understood the argument aright, certain points emerge from the talmudic discussion:

- (i) one of the arguments used is based on an interpretation by

R. Nehemiah of Ex. 35:26, where there is an ambiguity in the Hebrew text;

(ii) this interpretation is briefer and less developed than the addition in Ps. Jon. to Ex. 35:26;

(iii) spinning wool which is on the back of an animal is regarded as possible, certainly in legal terms, though the practicalities are not discussed; such spinning is thought of as requiring extraordinary skill, but it is not stated whether the extraordinary passes over into the miraculous: in other words, it is not made clear whether the spinning is in the category (a) or (b) above; (p.175).

(iv) there is no mention of Azubah.

2. b. Shab. 99a.

In a discussion on some of the measurements of the materials used in the building of the Tabernacle it is stated that the difference between the lower curtains and the upper curtains is that greater skill (חכמה גדולה) was required in the manufacture of the latter.

The 'greater skill' element is found by looking at Ex. 35:26 and R.

Nehemiah's interpretation of it : שטיוך בעצים וטלוי מן

העצים . This time the pivotal preposition has changed from (עצים) to

מן (העצים) , though the variant reading given is ב .

Three points require mention here:

(a) R. Nehemiah's interpretation of Ex. 35:26 is accepted;

(b) there is stress on 'great skill', but whether it is so great as to be miraculous is not made clear, and if מן is the correct reading, the skill is somewhat reduced;

(c) there is no mention of Azubah.

When we look at TC I Chr. 2:18 in the light of Tg. Jon. to Ex. 35:26, and of the extracts from b. Shab. 77b and 99a, we find certain

elements which have been taken by TC and woven into his expansion.

This can be represented as follows:

Tg. Jon. to Ex. 35:26	b. Shab. 74b	b. Shab. 99a
<u>spinning on bodies</u>	washing on goats	washing on goats
hackling	<u>spinning on goats</u>	<u>spinning from goats</u>
goats still alive	extraordinary <u>skill</u>	great <u>skill</u>
<u>for Taber. curtain</u>		<u>for Taber. curtain</u>
<u>skill</u>		

The elements underlined are found also in TC, viz:

spinning on bodies;

for Taber. curtain;

skill.

While TC has clearly chosen certain elements from the traditions reflected in the above three passages, there is one important addition which I find mentioned specifically only in TC: while the spinning was going on, the goats were not shorn כרלא גזין. The importance of this addition lies in the fact that while there is some uncertainty especially in b. Shab. 74b about the shearing and a consequent doubt (reflected in the variant readings in both b. Shab 74b and 99a) about the category of spinning involved, TC, by its addition, puts the issue beyond all doubt that the spinning referred to is of category (b), which can only imply a skill so extraordinary as to be miraculous.

There are, however, certain elements in the TC picture which have not emerged in the traditions examined so far:

- Azubah, barren and outcast
- God's intervention
- Gift of children

- Glorifying in wisdom.

Reference is made to some of these elsewhere, e.g.:

1. b. Soṭ. 11b.

Having looked at Miriam and used I Chr. 2:19 as one of the links in the argument to show that she is the ancestress of David, it then goes back to I Chr. 2:18, comments on Caleb and proceeds to make four points which are of special interest to us:

(a) Azubah and Miriam are identified עזובה זו מרים;

(b) Azubah's name is explained on the basis of the root עזב ---

שהכל עזבה מתחילתה, but no reason is given why everyone forsook her.

(c) A comment is made on the הוליר את עזובה אשה problem, and, in a saying attributed to R. Johanan, by using the als ob method the problem is solved in such a way as to leave the MT intact:

כל הנושא אשה לשם שמים מעלה עליה הכתוב כאילו ילדה

The assumption in (b) and (c) is that earlier on, for some reason Azubah had not been "marriageable". Rashi's commentary on this passage gives illness as the reason; in that she has been identified with Miriam, this does not sound unlikely.

(d) Jerioth is so-called because her face was like curtains (יריעות).

2. Shem. R. I 17

Here we have an almost word-for-word reproduction of the material in b. Soṭ. 11b, with one interesting addition: in a comment on the first clause of I Chr. 2:19, "And Azubah died", we are given a reason for her earlier "forsakenness", namely that she was ill and was treated as if already dead, Caleb too forsaking her.

Here, then, is a tradition, reflected in both these passages, which:

- (a) mentions Azubah's forsakenness,
- (b) mentions illness as the reason for this,
- (c) is aware of some link between Jerioth and curtains (of Tabernacle),
- (d) quotes Hebrew text of I Chr. 2:18 as in MT,
- (e) identifies Azubah with Miriam;

BUT WHICH:

- (a) does not mention barrenness as reason for forsakenness,
- (b) does not mention goats' hair in connection with curtains (of Tabernacle),
- (c) does not make Azubah a spinner,
- (d) does not mention her wisdom.

This may be represented as follows:

<u>b. Soṭ. 11b</u>	<u>Shem. R. I 17</u>
Az. = Miriam	Az. = Miriam
<u>Azubah and עזבה</u>	<u>Azubah and עזבה</u>
	Forsaken because of illness
Follows MT אשה . . . אה	Follows MT אשה . . . אה .
<u>Jerioth - curtains</u>	<u>Jerioth - curtains of Tabernacle</u>

The elements underlined are also found in TC:

Azubah and עזבה

Jerioth - curtains of Tabernacle

(The second element is only partially underlined, because there is such a difference in treatment between that of TC and that of the above traditions.)

Having isolated the elements in TC's treatment which are found elsewhere, we are in a better position to mention those which are found only in TC:

AZUBAH: barrenness,
 God's intervention on her behalf,
 being blessed with children,
 glorying in wisdom,
 spinning goats' hair for curtains of Tab.

JERIOTH: complete disappearance into Tabernacle curtains.

HEBREW TEXT: Problem of אִתּוֹ . . . נָשָׂא eased by changing to

נָשָׂא . . . בָּתּוֹ .

Now to take a broader look at TC I Chr. 2:18;

1. The biblical stimulus for the expansion comes from this verse and from a verse in Ex. Starting from Azubah and a tradition of forsaken-ness which was linked naturally with her name, TC develops this idea in his own way, though using a biblical model as his framework - the 'barren - become - fruitful' syndrome, as with Sarah, Rebekah and Hannah. Thus blessed with children, Wisdom plays an increasing role in Azubah's life. Moving to the second woman in the verse, Jerioth, he starts from a tradition where her name is naturally bound up with curtains, the curtains of the Tabernacle. Concentrating on the curtains, TC writes Jerioth as a person "out of the script", then calls to his aid an interpretation by R. Nehemiah of an ambiguous phrase in Ex. 35:26 which he also develops in his own way, showing us Azubah with wisdom spinning goats' hair for the Tabernacle curtains on their bodies in a miraculous way.

2. The bridge between the Azubah traditions and the Jerioth traditions is the word מִיָּמֶיךָ / מִיָּמֶיךָ . In view of the fact that Miriam is mentioned in the next verse (TC I Chr. 2:19), and in b. Soṭ. 11b is identified with Azubah, it is surprising that there is no reference to her in the only other verse in the Bible where our Azubah

is mentioned. Perhaps TC was using his literary skill (! חכמה) here: Miriam is mentioned explicitly in 2:19, but implicitly - preparing the way, as it were - in 2:18. The implied reference to Miriam may be found in the heavy emphasis on wisdom: this may be a link-up with a tradition found in Shem. R. XL. 1 and XLVIII. 4, centering around Ex. 1:21, where the rewards for the faithfulness of the Hebrew midwives (one of whom is Miriam) are distributed, Miriam receiving wisdom. (In other traditions in Shem. R. and in Sifre on Numbers, it is kingship which she receives.) And whom better to have in this context where children are being born to Azubah, than the midwife who had done so much to preserve the race. This expansion might be called - the story of the three wise women! What a pity, Jerioth had to disappear!

3. In the expansion we see TC going his own way several times, e.g.:

(a) in matters textual: where אשה... את becomes ...מן

אשה..., at a point where we would have expected him to follow the pattern in b. Sot. 11b, retaining the original text but using it as a way of extracting a message;

(b) in his addition כרלא גזיך , without being shorn, which adds a new dimension to the story;

(c) in his making Azubah the spinner. (I have been unable to find any other reference to Azubah's spinning.);

(d) in his adapting a biblical model for the barren - become - fruitful emphasis.

4. In looking a little more closely at 3(a), it is interesting that, while we are constantly reminded of the faithfulness of Jewish transmitters in handing on the text in spite of obvious textual difficulties, here we find TC taking considerable liberties with the text, not only

in the instance quoted, but also in his removing Jerioth as a person. It is an interesting conjecture as to the nature of our biblical text if the only textual legacies in our possession were the Targums!

5. There is in Azubah's work a certain miraculous element which TC brings to clear expression. I am not quite sure as to the exact reason for this - it may be an attempt to strengthen Miriam's hand in the next verse, with its considerable implications. But this I shall have to leave until then.

6. It is difficult to even begin to try to date the traditions interwoven in this expansion, e.g.:

(a) we are clearly dealing with an interpretation by Rabbi Nehemiah of Ex. 35:26 - at least his name is very closely linked with it in b. Shab. 74b and 99a. He is dated as second century. But this is not very helpful, as the interpretation has clearly been funnelled through the Babylonian Talmud; and through Ps. Jon., cf. use of על גורי יתהון;

(b) two very distinct references in Shem. R. to Miriam's wisdom may lie behind the emphasis on wisdom in this verse. But dating here, i.e. Shem. R., is also precarious - Zunz suggests eleventh or twelfth century, Hallevy the beginning of the seventh,¹ and these, of course, are not necessarily the dates of the origin of the traditions contained in Shem. R. But it is significant that elsewhere in Shem. R. the gift received by Miriam was that of kingship, which may suggest an earlier date for that tradition for reasons to be discussed under 2:19. But this is of little help, except to say that the wisdom tradition here reflected may be later than that of kingship;

(c) TC seems, however, to be the last in the series, in that, whereas

1. BOWKER, p. 79f.

there seemed to be some doubt in b. Shab. 77b and 99a (see p.179) about spinning על, in TC the matter is put beyond doubt by the addition of כרלא גזין.

TARGUM and PESHITTA

The textual problems of this verse have been examined already in considerable detail.¹ There are only four points to be made:

1. With such a wealth of tradition surrounding TC's treatment of this verse, one would expect to see some sign of this in the Syriac translation. Of this there is absolutely no sign.

2. TC and PC follow an identical pattern in the first clause of the verse:

MT	וכלב בן חצרון הוליד את-עזובה אשה ואת יריעות
TC	וכלב בר חצרון אוליד מן עזובה אנהתיה
Syr.	סלב בן חצרון אוליד מן עזובה אנהתיה

For both, את becomes מן ;

For both, אשה becomes אשתו .

As Fraenkel puts it, rather cryptically,² "... hat er מן אלהים für אשתו ; vielleicht meinte er אשתו zu lesen".

The second part of the verse shows no awareness of TC: the translator or copyist, in giving משה (9 a 1) for יריעות, certainly does not demonstrate that he knew about the link with the Tabernacle curtains.

3. מן has already³ been dealt with, as a possible corruption of מן, or מן.

1. pp. 159-166

2. p. 509.

3. p. 162f.

4. Arm. has ܠܗܝܬ ܐܝܬܐ , his wife, also presupposing אשתו. But I feel that Targumic or Syriac influence can be ruled out, as the first part of the verse is more in line with LXX A where 7. ܠܗܝܬ has become ܐܠܝܬܐ / ܠܗ , and "his" would be a natural translator's addition.

Thus in point 2 above, where TC and PC are identical, there is the possibility of some influence of TC on PC: or there is a like possibility that the influence may have operated in the reverse direction!

2:19

The Versions here show remarkable unanimity in following closely MT. Only TC has an addition:

TARGUMIC EXPANSION

"And Azubah died. And Caleb married Miriam who is called Ephrath, and she bore to him Hur."

We find Miriam and Ephrath identified also in TC I Chr. 4:4 and 4:17.

Thus, in three instances in TC, Miriam, sister of Moses and Aaron, of the tribe of Levi, is closely linked with Ephrath, wife of Caleb, son of Hezron, of the tribe of Judah.

This identification is made, or presupposed elsewhere, e.g.

1. b. Soṭ. 11b.

This extract takes us back to the days when the children of Israel were suffering oppression in Egypt and the edict that all male children be exterminated had gone forth. In Ex. 1:15-21 we are told how the Hebrew midwives, Shiprah and Puah, thwarted Pharaoh's plan. In 1:21 they receive their reward: because they feared God 7. ܠܗ ܝܥܨ

בתי, which is usually translated as, e.g. by ARSV "he gave them families".

In discussing this passage b. Soṭ. lists the different opinions of Rab and Samuel about the identity of the midwives and, after an appeal to tradition and some philological discussion, the following is the outcome:

Shiphrah = Jochebed (Moses' mother)

Puah = Miriam (Moses' sister).

The "making-of-houses" clause also produces a difference of opinion between Rab and Samuel; there is a certain confusion in the debate as to exactly how Rab and Samuel interpreted the houses, and the conclusion given seems to be a putting together of their two views, giving us from the two midwives two groups of houses:

Jochebed - בתי כהונה ולויה - Aaron and Moses

Miriam - בתי מלכות - David.

The reasoning here seems to be: because Aaron and Moses were descended from Jochebed it is obvious that she had been given "priesthood" and "Levitehood"; because David was descended from Miriam, it is obvious that she had been given "kingship". There is, however, one question raised by the latter part of the argument: whence do we know that David is descended from Miriam? This question is answered by the production of two "proof-texts":

(a) I Chr. 2:19 אפרת יתמת עזובה ויקח לה כלב את

(b) I Sam. 17:12 אפרתי הזו ידור בן איש

While the identification of Miriam and Ephrath is not explicitly stated here, it is clearly implied. The Talmud then proceeds to discuss I Chr. 2:18, and states explicitly (12a) that Azubah and Miriam are identical. Thus if we accept the talmudic treatment of I Chr. 2:18, 19,

we are left with the uncomfortable conclusion that Azubah and Ephrath are identical, which makes it very difficult to read 2:19 intelligibly. This problem is solved, - again by implication and by quoting an illustration, - by suggesting that Miriam is the restored-to-health Azubah, whom Caleb had married לשם שמים.

2. Shem. R. I. 17.

In I. 13, the debate on the identity of the midwives is retailed in a somewhat enlarged version, and the same result reached as in b. Soṭ. 11b.

When we come in I, 17, to consider Ex. 1:21, we find considerable similarity to b. Soṭ. 11b and 12a, but often the biblical verses and the deductions therefrom are found in a rather different order:

"AND IT CAME TO PASS, BECAUSE THE MIDWIVES FEARED GOD, THAT HE BUILT THEM HOUSES. Rab and Levi discussed this. One says: It means that they established priestly and levitical families; and the other that they were founders of a royal family. Priestly and levitical families - from Moses and Aaron; a royal family from Miriam, because David descended from Miriam . . .". Now, however, I Chr. 2:18 is quoted as a 'proof-text'; it had also been quoted in b. Soṭ., but there, more as an addendum than as an integral part of the argument as here. Caleb fathered Azubah his wife, who is now explicitly identified with Miriam. We are told that this strange statement about Caleb is another way of saying that he had married her "for the sake of heaven", one assumes because she was ill. Then I Chr. 2:19 is quoted "and Azubah died - to teach us that she was ill and was treated as if already dead, Caleb too forsaking her. 'And Caleb took unto him Ephrath', this is Miriam". It is then stated clearly that Ephrath is the restored-to-health Azubah. "When she was healed, he treated her

as though he were now marrying her, placing her in the litter, on account of his great joy in her." This principle of two names being really two ways of describing the same person in two aspects is exemplified from a consideration of I Chr. 4:5 and 4:7. Having thus clearly established the identification of Miriam and Ephrath, it then reverts, as it were, to the statement made at the beginning of the section, "because David descended from Miriam", and asks; "Whence do we know that David descended from Miriam?", and supplies the answer by quoting I Sam. 17:12: "Now David was the son of that Ephrathite . . .".

I have set this out in considerable detail because Shem. R., while using much the same material as b. Soṭ.,

- (a) sets out the argument in a much more logical fashion, and thus,
- (b) makes explicit much of what is only implied in b. Soṭ.

3. Shem. R. XL. 4.

In the midst of a section which begins by mentioning Bezalel and which then goes on to list people who were called by various names, I Chr. 2:24 is quoted. Resh Lakish introduces some textual emendation to remove the difficulty he finds in בְּכֵלֶב אִסְרָתָהּ. He suggests we read בֵּא כֶלֶב אִסְרָתָהּ = אִסְרָתָהּ בְּכֵלֶב.

"Resh Lakish explained this verse to mean that when Hezron died, Caleb came to Ephrath. (This is another name for Miriam. Why was she thus called? Because it was thanks to her that Israel multiplied.)"

Here the identification is made, but the reason for the identification by-passes the two texts I Chr. 2:19 and I Sam. 17:12, and seems to find the connection in the verb פָּרָה, the implication being that in her role as midwife she helped Israel to multiply - an implication which presupposes the identification of Miriam with Puah.

4. Shem. R. XLVIII. 4.

In this chapter, lengthy consideration is given to the expression in Ex. 35:30: "See the Lord hath called his name Bezalel", who was son of Uri, son of Hur, son of Ephrath and Caleb. At a certain point, great stress is laid on Bezalel's wisdom which he was said to have acquired from Miriam, and as proof Ex. 1:21 is again brought forward - "And he made for them houses". While the same "back-up" texts are used as before, viz. I Chr. 2:19 and I Sam. 17:12, three things emerge quite clearly:

(a) The identification of Miriam and Ephrath is explicit: ". . . which means that he" (i.e. David) "was descended from Miriam who was called Ephrath".

(b) Jochebed and Miriam are named as the midwives without any reference to Shiphrah and Puah.

(c) Jochebed receives priesthood and royalty, Aaron being the priest and Moses the king, and Miriam receives wisdom, and from her came Bezalel, and from him came David.

5. Sifre, Num., בהעלתך p. 74, 24ff.

Here we have the "midwives story" in a very simple form. The midwives are identified, as before, with Jochebed and Miriam, without any doubt or debate as to identity. Ex. 1:21 is then quoted, and the two houses allocated זכותה יוכבד לכהונה ומרים למלכות

Then after an identification of Miriam with Aharel, using I Chr. 4:8 as the reference (cf. Shem. R. I 17 where a similar identification is made) and Jochebed with Harum, Sifre goes on to state that נישאת

לכלב and the two "proof texts" are quoted in immediate succession I Chr. 2:19 and I Sam. 17:12 and finally, as it were the "Q.E.D." is added: נמצא דוד מבני בניה של מרים

Three things are to be noted here:

(a) we are unaware of any debates over identification of the midwives or over the "allocation of houses";

(b) in the "allocation of houses" it is simply Jochebed - priesthood; Miriam - kingship: no reference is made to "Levite-hood".

(c) One addition which I have not found in the other extracts quoted is the citing of a proof text to justify the giving of a special meaning to the word "houses": I Ki. 9:10 חֲקֹצֶה עֲשִׂירִים שָׁנָה אֲשֶׁר בָּנָה שְׁלֹמֹה
אֶת שְׁנֵי הַבָּתִּים אֶת בֵּית ה' דֹּו כְהֹנָה וְאֶת בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ זֶה הַמֶּלֶךְ כֹּלֵת

6. PRE Ch. XLV.

Before making the Golden Calf the people came to Aaron and Hur, the son of Moses' sister. A question is asked as to how we know that Hur is Moses' sister's son. I Chr. 2:19 is given in reply: "And Caleb took unto him Ephrath which bore him Hur". Thus Miriam and Ephrath are identified. This prompts the next question - "Why was Miriam's name called Ephrath? Because she was a daughter of the palace, a daughter of kings, one of the magnates of the generation; for every prince and great man who arose in Israel had his name called an Ephrathite"; two examples are then quoted as illustrations: the father of Jeroboam (I Ki. 11:26) and the father of David (I Sam. 17:12).

What is of interest here is that:

(a) the thrust of the argument is not to prove that David was descended from Miriam, but that Hur was her son;

(b) for this, the proof-text used is I Chr. 2:19;

(c) the identification of Miriam and Ephrath is stated explicitly;

(d) the reason for the identification is the "nickname" principle;

(e) I Sam. 17:12 ("And David was the son of that Ephrathite") is used, not to show that David was descended from Ephrath (= Miriam), but

simply as an illustration of the "nickname" principle.

7. Midr. Teh. 132. 3.

Commenting on verse 13, it is stated, among other things, that all the children of Israel were fit for priesthood or kingship, but that after Aaron and David had been chosen, the respective offices belonged to them alone.

8. RASHI, in his commentary on Ex. 1:15 and 21, refers to the talmudic tradition in which Shiphrah and Puah are identified with Jochebed and Miriam, and they become the founders of dynasties of priests, Levites and Kings.

The above extracts are now set out in tabular form:

b. Sot. 11b.

- | | | | |
|------------------------|--|---|----------------|
| 1. MIDWIVES | Shiphrah
=
Jochebed | Puah
=
Miriam | } after debate |
| 2. HOUSES | <div style="text-align: center;"> Jochebed
 ┌───┴───┐
 Priesthood Levitehood
 │ │
 Moses Aaron </div> | <div style="text-align: center;"> Miriam
 │
 Kingship:
 │
 David </div> | some confusion |
| 3. MIRIAM | = Ephrath | | implicit |
| 4. PROOF | I <u>Chr.</u> 2:19; I <u>Sam.</u> 17:12; I <u>Chr.</u> 2:18 | | |
| 5. START OF DISCUSSION | "As you sow, so shall you reap" -
Demerit or Merit, <u>e.g.</u> Samson, Tamar,
Absalom, <u>Miriam</u> , Joseph. | | |

Shem. R. I. 17.

1. MIDWIVES Shiprah Puah } after debate
 = =
 Jochebed Miriam }
2. HOUSES Moses Aaron Miriam: some confusion
 Priestly Levitical Royal family
 families families David
3. MIRIAM = Ephrath explicit
4. PROOF I Chr. 2:18, 19; I Sam. 17:12.
5. START OF DISCUSSION Exposition of Ex. 1.

Shem. R. XL. 4.

1. MIDWIVES -
2. HOUSES -
3. MIRIAM = Ephrath explicit
4. PROOF I Chr. 2:24
 Israel Multiplied ישראל Midwife ref.
 implied
5. START OF DISCUSSION People with many names . . . Bezalel

Shem. R. XLVIII. 4.

1. MIDWIVES - -
2. HOUSES Jochebed Miriam
 Priesthood Kingship Wisdom
 Aaron Moses Bezalel
 David
3. MIRIAM = Ephrath explicit
4. PROOF I Chr. 2:19; I Sam. 17:12
5. START OF DISCUSSION Bezalel - his wisdom from Miriam

Sifre (Num.)

- | | | | |
|------------------------|--|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. MIDWIVES | Shiphrah
=
Jochebed | Puah
=
Miriam | |
| 2. HOUSES | Jochebed

Priesthood | Miriam

Kingship | See I <u>Ki.</u> 9:10 |
| 3. MIRIAM | = Ephrath | | implicit |
| 4. PROOF | I <u>Chr.</u> 2:19; I <u>Sam.</u> 17:12 | | |
| 5. START OF DISCUSSION | { Merit acquired by good deeds <u>e.g.</u>
Rechabites, Ruth, Rahab, Midwives. | | |

PRE Ch. XLV.

- | | | | |
|------------------------|--|---|----------|
| 1. MIDWIVES | - | - | |
| 2. HOUSES | - | - | |
| 3. MIRIAM | = Ephrath | | explicit |
| 4. PROOF | Tradition of Nickname; <u>e.g.</u>
I <u>Ki.</u> 11:26; I <u>Sam.</u> 17:12. | | |
| 5. START OF DISCUSSION | Golden Calf and attempt to show that
Hur is daughter of Miriam. | | |

There is a certain diversity in these various traditions, but (leaving aside for the moment PRE Ch. XLV and Midr. Teh. 132. 3) at the same time there is a strong unity of theme running through them:

1. Apart from Shem. R. XL. 4, the first three factors, MIDWIVES, HOUSES, MIRIAM, show substantial uniformity, though there are some unusual variations:

(a) Shem. R. XLVIII. 4. Jochebed receives kingship and the link is with Moses, while Miriam receives wisdom and the link is (eventually) with David.

(b) In Shem. R. XL. 4, there is no mention by name of Aaron, Moses or David. In Sifre, Num., there is no mention by name of Aaron, but it is safe to conclude that he is there by implication.

2. (a) In the PROOFS brought forward, I Chr. 2:19 (and 18) and I Sam. 17:12 appear in all the traditions except Shem. R. XL. 4.

(b) Only Sifre, Num., quotes I Ki. 9:10 as a justification for using "houses" in a special sense.

3. There are several STARTING POINTS OF THE DISCUSSION:

(a) Exposition of Ex. 1 (Shem. R. I. 17)

(b) Wisdom and Bezalel (Shem. R. XL. 4 and XLVIII. 4)

(c) Acquiring of Merit (b. Soṭ. 11b and Sifre, Num.).

It should also be noted that in Sifre, Num., the "houses" affair follows a reference to Ruth the Moabitess. But, irrespective of where the discussion begins, all, implicitly or explicitly, identify Miriam and Ephrath, the purpose of which in all, except Shem. R. XL. 4, is to demonstrate that David is descended from Miriam.

4. PRE Ch. XLV and Midr. Teh. 132. 3 are so different in their approaches as to require separate treatment. In Midr. Teh., there is merely a reference to priesthood, with which is linked the name Aaron, and to kingship with which is linked the name David. In PRE as pointed out above¹ the identification of Miriam and Ephrath is used to show Hur's descent from Miriam, and the proof texts quoted, which are also quoted regularly in most of the other traditions, are here used in a different way and for a different purpose.

5. I find it extremely difficult to arrange these traditions in chronological order:

(a) on the principle that the most straightforward account is likely to be early, Sifre, Num., could be regarded as early. But if the others are later, it is odd that they have completely disregarded the

1. p. 191.

very important proof-text I Ki. 9:10 - unless, as time went on, what it was trying to justify was regarded as so obvious as to be taken for granted.

(b) b. Soṭ. 11b and Shem. R. I. 17 are very similar, but on the principle that a later tradition clarifies ambiguities or confusions in the earlier, the fact that Shem. R. I. 17 seemed to me to be much more clearly set out than b. Soṭ. 11b would suggest that it was later than b. Soṭ. 11b: but on the other hand, with Sifre, Num., being so clearly set out initially it does seem odd that b. Soṭ. 11b should be rather confused unless this seeming confusion can be regarded as the reflection of a continuing debate where, when an attempt is made to apply the tradition to a new situation, a difference of opinion results and is recorded.

(c) a further argument for the comparative lateness of b. Soṭ. 11b and Shem. R. I. 17 is that both of them (and they alone) add 'Levitehood' to Jochebed, though surprisingly it is then related to Aaron, and the priesthood to Moses - though I may be taking the word-order too strictly here.

(d) Neusner's¹ warnings about accepting uncritically attributions to various Rabbis make one cautious about using the Rabbis mentioned in b. Soṭ. 11b and in Shem. R. I. 17 for dating purposes. However, the fact that in both of these Rab and Samuel/Levi are quoted may help to form a tentative strand in the argument that debates about these matters were going on in the second and third centuries AD.

(e) It is possible to see a certain "lateness" in PRE Ch. XLV and

1. See e.g. J. NEUSNER, "Method and Substance in the History of Judaic Ideas: an Exercise", in R. HAMMERTON-KELLY and R. SCROGGS (edd.), Jews, Greeks and Christians (1976), pp. 89-96.

Midr. Teh. 132. 3. In the latter the tradition is simply referred to and its lesson applied. But on the principle referred to in 5(a) above¹ where the simpler is earlier, this tradition could be classed alongside Sifre, Num.!

In PRE, Ch. XLV, the "lateness" is more obvious; one can still see the "components" of the earlier tradition, but now they have been separated, reshaped and reused in a different way for a different purpose - e.g. the two 'standard proof texts' I Chr. 2:19 and I Sam. 17:12. We can see also the introduction of a separate tradition concerning Hur whom we find not only in I Chr. 2:19 but also in Ps. Jon., FT, Neo I and Neo I M to Ex. 32:5, but in the Targums it is only a mention while in PRE there is much more elaboration.

M. D. Johnson² may be correct when he regards the Sifre tradition as the earliest, "which may be dated at the end of the first century AD", but I find it difficult to be so absolutely sure. I feel that the caution of R. le Déaut,³ speaking of some of these and other traditions, is justified when he says: "Il est malheureusement difficile de dater ces traditions . . ."

To look now at some of these "other traditions", especially as they are found in the Targums.

In the Targums to Ex. 1:15 and 1:21 we have the following:

Ex. 1:15

MT	שם האחת שפרה ושם השנית פועה
TO	שום חרא שפרה ושום תנייתא פועה
Ps. Jon.	שמה דחדא שפרה היא יוכבד

1. See above, p. 195f.

2. JOHNSON, p. 132, n. 3.

3. Biblica 45 (1964) "Miryam, soeur de Moïse, et Marie, mère du Messie", p. 207.

	ושמה דתנייתא פועה היא מרים ברתה
FT	שמה (ר) חדא מנהון שפרא רשמה יזכבר
	ושמה דתנייתא פועה היא הות מרים
Neo I	שמה דחדא מנהון שפרא ושמה דתנייתא פועה
Neo I M	(שפרא) היא הות יזכבר ושמה דתנייתא
	פועה היא הות מרים

This produces the following pattern:

MIDWIVES

MT	Shiphrah	Puah
TO	Shiphrah	Puah
Ps. Jon.	Shiphrah, <u>i.e.</u> , Jochebed	Puah, <u>i.e.</u> , Miriam her daughter
FT	Shiphrah, <u>i.e.</u> , Jochebed	Puah, <u>i.e.</u> , Miriam
Neo I	Shiphrah	Puah
Neo I M	Shiphrah, <u>i.e.</u> , Jochebed	Puah, <u>i.e.</u> , Miriam

Ex. 1:21

MT	ויעש להם בתים
TO	ועבר להין בתין
Ps. Jon.	ובנא להין מימרא דה' בית מלכותא
	ובית כהונה רבתא
FT	ועברו להין בתין ביתא דמלכותא
	וביתא דכהונתא רובתא יזכבר נסבת כליל
	מלכותא ומרים נסבת כליל כהונתא רובתא
Neo I	ועבר להון בתים בייתה דמלכותא
	וביתא דכהונתא רבתא מרים נסבת כליל
	מלכותא ויזכבר נסבת כליל כהונתא רבתא
Neo I M	ועבר להון בתין בתי כהונתא רבא ^[ת]
	בתי נביא ^[א] ומבתי דמלכותא

This produces the following diagram:

ALLOCATION OF HOUSES TO MIDWIVES

MT	-		-
TO	-		-
Ps. Jon.	Kingship		High Priesthood
FT	Kingship (Jochebed)		High Priesthood (Miriam)
Neo I	Kingship (Miriam)		High Priesthood (Jochebed)
Neo I M	High Priesthood	Prophecy	Kingship

In an attempt to analyse the Targumic material the following points emerge:

1. Apart from TO, all the Targums identify the midwives as before, viz., Shiphrah with Jochebed and Puah with Miriam. Neo I at Ex. 1:15 does not state the identification, but its handling of Ex. 1:21 makes it clear that in 1:15 the identification is presupposed.
2. Apart from TO, all the Targums relate the houses to Kingship and High Priesthood, though:
 - (a) Neo I M brings in Prophecy as well. (cf. Ex. 15:20 and Mechilta, Shirata X, and b. Soṭ. 12b);
 - (b) it is not always quite clear with whom Kingship and Priesthood are to be associated. From the word-order, i.e. in Ex. 1:15 Shiphrah (Jochebed) is mentioned first, it would almost appear that in Ps. Jon. Kingship is associated with Jochebed and High Priesthood with Miriam. In FT, it is in fact so linked; but here FT presents a problem - in M. GINSBURGER, Das Fragmententhargum (1899), p. 28, Kingship is linked

with Jochebed and High Priesthood with Miriam. Le Déaut¹ writes: "Le Codex Neofiti continue (ainsi que le manuscrit 110): . . . et il leur fait des maisons . . . Miryam reçut la couronne de la royauté et Yokébed reçut la couronne du souverain sacerdoce".

3. The Targums do not mention the names of later holders of these offices of High Priesthood etc., i.e. there is no mention of Aaron or Moses or David.

4. In 1:21, the natural subject of the verb is "God". "And he (i.e. God) made for them houses." FT has עֲבָדָם, which makes the people the subject.

5. J. Bowker² has drawn attention to the fact that TO is not to be thought of merely as the nearest thing to a "straight-forward translation" of MT, but that often it contains "abbreviated interpretations which seem to be a slightly variant form of the Palestinian Targum tradition".³ While recognising that the argumentum e silentio is exceptionally precarious, it is none the less significant that in these two verses Ex. 1:15, 21, where the Palestinian Targum-tradition seems to be so rich, there is no hint of even an "abbreviated interpretation" in TO.

In trying to take a synoptic view of all the material quoted, targumic and non-targumic, one point is especially striking, viz., 3 above: that at no point do the Targums mention Aaron, Moses or David, and as David is not mentioned the question of Ephrath does not arise. The non-targumic material on the whole, mentions all of these, and, irrespective of slight differences, largely reach the conclusion that

1. See p. 197, note 3.

2. p. 23f.

3. p. 24.

David is descended from Miriam with the emphasis usually on kingship, though once on wisdom. Bearing in mind the danger of the argumentum e silentio referred to above, it does seem possible that in the Targums we have the earliest material, thus providing the first of the components of the talmudic and midrashic equation, as follows:

(i) the interpretation of Ex. 1:15, 21 produces the 'priesthood' and 'kingship' emphasis, linked possibly with Jochebed and Miriam.

(ii) I Chr. 2:19 (and 18) are so used as to show that Miriam = Ephrath.

(iii) I Sam. 17:12 makes the link between David and Ephrath.

And the result is that David is descended from Ephrath, i.e. Miriam, holder of kingship. The flaw here is that there are still two unanswered questions: Why did the Targums interpret "houses" in this way?: and - which is the more difficult - Why did the Targums link Miriam with kingship?

The dating question could, of course, be satisfactorily resolved in two ways:

(a) if it could be shown that there was a clear historical area into which some of our traditions could be fitted. V. Aptowitzer¹ felt that there was such an historical area. For what follows I am relying on Johnson's summary.² Johnson stresses that in the Old Testament and in Jewish tradition the normal expectation is of a Messiah from the house of David. "In sum, we may assert that for both the Christian and Jewish traditions the expectation that the Messiah would be Davidic was the prevailing view."³

1. Parteipolitik der Hasmonäerzeit im Rabbinischen und Pseudepigraphischen Schriften (1927).

2. pp. 115-138.

3. p. 120.

At times, however, perhaps even in the Old Testament, in later literature, e.g. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and in the Dead Sea Scrolls, we have hints of a priestly Messianic figure, or a combination in one person of two Messianic figures, one royal and one priestly, one from Judah and one from Levi.

Johnson goes on to outline the hypothesis of Aptowitzer who "suggests that the bulk of the Rabbinic and sectarian references to the priestly Messiah reflects the political struggles of the Hasmonean era, especially under John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus".¹

The Hasmoneans, to legitimate their position in face of opposition, starting from an exposition of Ps. 110:4 and using certain passages in the Testaments, especially from "The Testament of Levi", stressed the expectation of a priestly Messiah from the tribe of Levi who would also be king.

The Anti-Hasmoneans, tired of the behaviour of John and Alexander, and unhappy about their non-Davidic descent, and also starting from an exposition of Ps. 110:4, looked for a Davidic Messiah who would also be priest.

Thus, each side looked for one Messiah, who could combine two roles - priest and king - the main role depending on the tribe from which he came initially.

The Hasmoneans had to prove that while they were from the tribe of Levi and sons of Aaron, they were also sons of Judah and, according to Aptowitzer, proof of their Judah-ite emphasis was to be found in The Testaments, especially in what he would regard as later interpolations in the text.

1. p. 131.

The anti-Hasmoneans had to show that while of Davidic line and from the tribe of Judah, their Messiah could also act as priest. They did this by demonstrating, using methods we have already dealt with, that David was descended from Miriam, of the house of Levi, sister of Moses and Aaron. The basic text in this connection was Sifre, Num., as already quoted.¹

The debate between the two sides continued, with charges and counter charges, based mostly on possible flaws in ancestry, e.g. Ruth the Moabitess, John Hyrcanus' mother, etc.

Those who quote Aptowitz stress his mastery of the materials he uses but are unhappy about how he uses them e.g., W. D. Davies²: "The value of Aptowitz's treatment lies in the wealth of material which he commands, not in the interpretation he puts upon it".

Some of the criticisms made by Johnson, which are relevant to our subject are:

1. Dating: in discussing events which happened at a particular time, it is unwise to base arguments on documents which may refer to later times.
2. Historical setting: disputes about the Messiah could have arisen at several crucial points in Jewish history e.g., the rise of Christianity and its emphasis on a Messiah from the house of David; the revolt of bar-Kokba whom one of Judaism's greatest Rabbis, R. Aqiba, had hailed as Messiah.

There is a certain attractiveness about Aptowitz's view and even if one does not feel entirely happy about his arguments, it must be

1. above p. 190.

2. The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount, (1964), p. 111, footnote 3 to page 110.

But there is a slightly different emphasis in Dem. XXI - 10, where Moses is the giver of the law, but is also linked with priesthood:

לְהַאֲדֹת אֶת־הַכֹּהֲנִים וְאֶת־הַלְוִיִּם

In Dem. XXIII - 15 and 16 (Neusner, Aphrahat, p. 115) we see a subtle transfer from the house of Judah to the house of Levi:

"When Jacob and Judah went down to Egypt, this blessing was hidden in the loins of Perez. And Perez fathered Hezron, and Hezron fathered Aram, and Aram fathered Aminadab, and Aminadab fathered Nachshon, the head of the children of Judah.

XXIII - 16. After Aminadab it (the blessing) resided in Eliezar the son of Aaron the priest, from whom was born Phineas. From Aminadab the blessing of the sovereignty and of the priesthood went forth. Leadership and kingship were from Nachshon, and priesthead (sic!) was from the son of the sister of Nachshon, who gave birth to Phineas . . ."

- a rich, if at times confusing picture!

EPHREM also refers to priesthood and kingship:

In the first Hymn on the Resurrection (Murray, p. 179) kingship is linked with David, in that Christ received his kingship from David.

In HcHaer 22. 19 (Murray, p. 178f) the priesthood has come from God to Christ through Moses, Aaron, John:

"The Most High descended on Mount Sinai
and stretched forth his hand over Moses.
Moses laid it on Aaron . . ."

But in the first Hymn on the Resurrection (Murray, p. 179), Christ's priesthood came from Melchizedek.

In HcHaer 24 (Murray, p. 180), the line is from Adam to Noah to Abraham to Moses to David, but in the first line there is some confusion as to what was actually handed down.

"It was handed down from Adam to Noah . . ." Murray¹ regards the "it" as "involving probably both priesthood . . . and revelation".

1. p. 180, n. 3.

Thus, with Aphrahat there is more than one strand: the priesthood coming from Aaron or from Moses, but in Dem. XXIII where there is a transfer of the blessing from Judah to Levi there may be an attempt to show that the Messiah shares in two tribes, though it is clear that the tribe of Judah has the pre-eminence.

With Ephrem, the priesthood of Christ comes from Melchizedek as would be expected, but at one point he sees it as coming from the tribe of Levi, through Moses and Aaron. While this may show some awareness of the possibility of a Messiah coming from the house of Levi as in the Testament of Levi as Murray points out in footnote 4 on page 180, there is also the possibility that Ephrem may have been aware of the intense Jewish speculation of a 'dual Messiah', or that his comments reflect that such speculation had already spilled over into the Jewish-Christian group.

JOSEPHUS is not particularly helpful in our approach to the date problem. Indeed he tends to add confusion to the matter. In Antiquities, III 54 we read: "Moses . . . bade his brother Aaron and his sister Mariamme's husband, by name Ur, stand on either side of him . . ." Thus while the Old Testament shows no hint of a relationship between Hur and Moses, and our extracts above make Miriam the mother of Hur and very clearly the wife of Caleb, Josephus makes Miriam the wife of Hur.

In the midst of all this, what is the significance of the small expansion in TC I Chr. 2:19 ". . . Miriam who is called Ephrath"?

1. We have here a reference to a theme which is strongly attested in Jewish tradition.
2. The fact that the identification of Miriam and Ephrath is found three times within three chapters in TC indicates its importance for

this Targum.

3. In other areas where the identification has been made, its purpose has often been to provide a vital link in a chain of reasoning which reaches the conclusion that David the king is descended from Miriam who had received Kingship. But occasionally a new context emerges - even if the debate still ends with the Davidic descent from Miriam - that of Wisdom:

(a) The TC identification follows closely on the Azubah saga, where Wisdom plays a very important part in the expansion.

(b) This may point to some link with the tradition reflected in Shem. R. XLVIII. 4; while the conclusion there reached is that David the king is descended from Miriam, the interesting thing is that it is Moses who receives Kingship and Miriam who receives Wisdom.

(c) A further partial connection with Shem. R. XLVIII. 4 may lie in the fact that the expansion in TC is found in almost identical form in Shem. R. XLVIII. 4. Unfortunately such a connection is very slender as the TC expansion is very short.

4. In TC Ch. 2, certain points emerge clearly -

Ruth the Moabite, strongly defended (2:17)

Azubah and wisdom (2:18)

Miriam and Ephrath (2:19)

Rechabites (2:55)

In Sifre, Num., we see a certain similarity:

Rechabites

Rahab, strongly defended

Ruth, strongly defended

Midwives - - - Miriam and Ephrath etc.

There is some similarity between both of these, even though the Rechabites are found in different places. In Sifre the connecting theme is merit acquired by non-Jews and Jews. This theme does not emerge so prominently in TC, yet in each of them there is a spirited defence of the legitimacy and purity of the Davidic line. I wonder if, with attacks on the Davidic line from various quarters, there had emerged a paradigmatic defence of this line, and we see traces of this outline in Sifre and TC.

The Wisdom emphasis which pervades TC I Chr. 2:18 with reference to Azubah (elsewhere identified with Miriam) may show some link with the tradition we find in Shem. R. XLVIII. 4.

5. I Chr. 2:19 plays a pivotal role in most of the extracts quoted: it is reasonable to assume that this expansion which, in spite of its brevity, said so much, was attached to MT quite early. As several of the facts mentioned earlier point - even if somewhat tentatively - to an early origin of this debate centring round David, and as I Chr. 2:19 is such an important part of the debate, this little expansion may be one of the earlier parts of our Targum.

6. To try to be more precise in dating would be to make the mistake of Aptowitzer, but - as mentioned above¹ - if the differences emerging in the debate between Rab and Samuel/Levi in b. Sot. 11b and Shem. R. I. 13 and 17, indicate that they were trying to apply older material to a new situation, and if we regard second and third centuries as the time of their operation, then TC's expansion would precede this date, and as Sifre, Num. has already been shown to have the possibility of being early, both of them may be regarded as reflecting the tradition

1. See above, p. 187.

in its earlier form.

7. This expansion, though brief, is, in the modern idiom, "loaded". Its very mention opens a window on a vast expanse of theological and political discussion, which no doubt reflect circumstances at one or at several periods. We saw a similar expansion in TC I Chr. 1:24, where to שם was added a phrase full of significance כהנא רבא. TC has the ability to give us some very lengthy expansions: in phrases such as those in 1:24 and 2:19 we see that he is also master of the "compressed expansion" - the kind of expansion which Bowker referred to in connection with TO.

TARGUM and PESHITTA

As already noted at the beginning of the discussion, the Versions, apart from the targumic expansion, are remarkably faithful to MT. This includes PC. It is idle to speculate, but it is strange that an issue, discussion of which is strongly evidenced in Jewish tradition, and, from our consideration of Aphrahat and Ephrem, consideration of which had its echo in Syriac Christian tradition, finds no reflection of any kind in PC.

2:21

אחר] In Hebrew אחר can be used either as a preposition, after, or as an adverb, afterwards. As the languages of the Versions normally use one word for the preposition after, and a phrase or word based on that word for the adverb, afterwards, some variation is to be expected, e.g.

אחר

Tg

מן בתר כדין

LXX

μετα ταυτα

Pesh.

כאן; ואל

Obviously it would be unsafe to base any inter-relationship of the Versions on similarities thus appearing.

אֵל . . . בָּא] ... PC. The אֵל has become אֵל, but again this has no significance. The Hebrew אֵל . . . בָּא, when used with reference to a woman, normally means coming to her with the implication of intercourse. And for this term the Syriac expression is אֵל . . . אֵל or אֵל . . . אֵל.¹

אֵל] In MT, Hezron was sixty years old when he married the daughter of Machir. Some LXX minuscules have sixty-five while TC has אֵל . . . אֵל. There does not seem to be any significance in the Targum variant as it could be explained by dittography, though it is more difficult to give a textual reason for the addition of אֵל in some LXX MSS.

אֵל] Σερούχ LXX B. אֵל TC. MS V. The latter looks like a straightforward error; the former, Σερούχ, is explained by Rothstein² as resulting from a textual error followed by confusion of ב and ר, thus: אֵל → אֵל → Σερούχ.

TARGUMIC EXPANSION

"and after this Hezron seduced the virgin daughter of Machir, the father of Gilead, and he took her in marriage, and he was sixty-six years old when she bore to him Shegub."

Of Hezron, son of Perez and father of Caleb, the Old Testament tells us little except his name, his marriages and his family. I Chr. 2:21 is one of the verses where a little light is thrown on him. At sixty, he marries the daughter of Machir (possibly the son of Manasseh,

1. J. PAYNE SMITH, p. 412.

2. p. 22.

Gen. 50:23), father of Gilead, and she has his son Segub, whose son Jair had many cities in Gilead: all of which, in MT, may represent some kind of relationship between groups on both sides of the Jordan. Hezron normally appears as a link in a genealogical chain. Levine¹ reminds us that he plays an insignificant role not only in the Bible but in the midrashic literature as well.

Knowing so little about him, it comes as a surprise to find him described in somewhat unflattering terms in TC I Chr. 2:21. While MT records, quite baldly, that "afterwards", (best taken as relating to 2:9) he married the daughter of Machir, TC notes that he "seduced the virgin daughter of Machir".

There is, it would seem, some echo of Ex. 22:15, which, in Ps. Jon. uses the same verb, וַאֲרוֹם יִשְׂרָאֵל גִּבְרָא בְּתוּלָתָא. If there is any link here, one is not sure of the intention, for in Ex. 22:15, the reference is to an "unbetrothed virgin". Was the intention:

(a) to depict Hezron in a bad light by describing him as a seducer?
 (b) to show him in a good light, by pointing out that, though he was a seducer, he none the less, did the honourable thing, i.e. made her his wife וַיִּסְבֶּה לְאִשְׁתּוֹ.

(b) does not seem so likely, as according to the Law in Ex. 22:15 he had little alternative but to pay the marriage price and marry the girl.

In Ber. R. XCVIII. 8, there is a reference which, though obscure, may have some bearing on our verse:

"THE SCEPTRE SHALL NOT DEPART FROM JUDAH. This alludes to Machir.

1. The Aramaic Version of Ruth, p. 108.

NOR THE RULER'S STAFF FROM BENEATH HIS FEET. - he came and prostrated himself at his feet." The editor, H. Freedman, in his footnote at this point, suggests two possibilities, the first of which he favours, as follows:¹

"The passage is obscure. Presumably the Machir meant is Machir the son of Manasseh, and the passage might then be based on Judg. V. 14 q.v. He prostrated himself before Hezron, imploring him to marry his (Machir's) daughter - v. I Chron. II. 21."

I would have thought that Ber. R.'s reference here to Machir's prostrating himself at Judah's feet was a reference to the expectation of a Messiah from the line of Judah rather than to Machir's begging Hezron to marry his daughter. Surely he had no need to beg him, for, as pointed out above, Hezron was obliged to marry her. The link between Gen. 49:10 and Jud. 5:14 would seem to lie in מחיר.

To me, the general tone of TC I Chr. 2:21 is derogatory. As Hezron is mentioned in the genealogies of Jesus in both Matthew (1:3) and Luke (3:33), and, as seen already² he plays a linking role in Aphrahat in the handing down of the blessing, is there perhaps, in TC I Chr. 2:21, the trace of an anti-Christian tendency, an attempt to throw some mud at one who featured in the line of descent of the Christian Messiah?

It is difficult to see exactly where the biblical stimulus for the expansion lies. Rothstein³ suggests that we take the first ויהוא as contrastive⁴ and use a pluperfect with the following verb:

1. p. 956.

2. p. 205.

3. p. 21f.

4. NEB's translation "having married her" seems to lean in this direction also.

"Afterwards, Hezron came to the daughter of Machir, the father of Gilead - but he had married her when he was sixty years old - . . . and she bore him".¹

I would suggest that the stimulus for the pejorative expansion in TC lay in just this contrastive **והוא**. The **והוא** led TC to interpret **לקח** in a slightly forcible sense, and when he rewrote the verse, he introduced this forcible element into the first part by altering **בא** to **בתולתא** . . . **שרג**, possibly under the influence of Ps. Jon. to Ex. 22:15 where alone in the Pentateuchal Targums this expression occurs,² and retained the normal meaning of **לקח** in his **נסבה לאותו**.

But as to his reasons for thus maligning Hezron I have no answer.

TARGUM and PESHITTA

Of TC's expansion PC shows no trace.

2:23

]חלת **כופרת** TC. MS V.

As MS C reads **כפרני**, and as some such word as "villages" is clearly what is implied in MT, **כופרני** was probably what TC V meant to write.

There are four points of textual interest in the verse:

1. This verse is lacking in PC, probably through Homoioteleuton

גלער.

2. **]ויקח גשור וארם את חות יאיר**

Even though **גשור וארם** reads a little awkwardly as subject,

1. Rothstein's further development of this point does not concern us here.

2. LEVY, II, 517.

the very fact that these words have no לִּי as "object marker" would force us to take them as subject. TC leaves us in no doubt but that they are to be taken thus by rendering . . . $\text{וַיִּבְרָאוּ גִשְׁרָא}$.

LXX B seems to translate MT word for word but as it has no object-marker to call upon it leaves a certain ambiguity as to whether the first two nouns in MT are subject, $\text{καὶ ἔλαβεν Γεθουρ καὶ Ἀρρὸν τὰς κωμὰς . . .}$ which could also be translated: "And he took Γεθουρ . . ., the villages . . .". This, in fact, is exactly what Arm. does, and, because, like Hebrew, it possesses an object-marker, the issue is left in no doubt: $\text{Եւ առ զԳԵՍՈՒՐ Եւ զԱՐՐՈՆ զԳԵԼԱԼԼԷՆ}$, (object-

marker arrowed). This would indicate, that at this point Arm. is following LXX. Before leaping to conclusions, however, it is salutary to read the whole verse, where LXX uses the same word κωμῶν to translate (a) קִנְיָה ; (b) $\text{בֵּית (בְּנֵי הָאֵלֹהִים)}$, (as indeed does TC כִּנְפֵּרֹנָא). Arm., on the other hand, uses ԳԵԼԷՆ , and ԱԼԼԷՆ respectively! One cannot be sure if this has any significance and PC would have been quite helpful at this point had it existed. Arm. may be merely ringing the changes in order to avoid using two identical words so close to each other, or it may be following a Greek MS which in fact had two different words - e.g. MS e for the second κωμὰς has πολείς .

3. $\text{אֶת הַקִּנְיָה]$. There is some ambiguity here in MT.

(a) Is this to be taken in apposition to $\text{אֶת הַקִּנְיָה יִצְחָק (ARSV?)}$?

(b) If it were meant to follow $\text{אֶת הַקִּנְיָה יִצְחָק}$ serially, we would expect וְ (cf. Vg, NEB, TEV, and ARSV(?))

(c) Should לִּי be taken as a preposition - "with" (cf. Rudolph¹)?

It is interesting that TC, normally so eager to remove ambiguity (e.g. later on in this verse), translates MT just as it stands, with no attempt to clarify things. The object-marker ית in Aramaic does not have the same prepositional role as את in Hebrew, so in TC we are left to choose either (a) or (b).

4. כל אלה בני מכיר] "all these were the sons of Machir." Sixty seems a rather high total for Machir's sons, especially when only one has been mentioned so far. Even if "sons" is translated as "descendants", only a few of these have already been named. Curtis¹ solves the problem by noting: "the summary of a section originally larger probably than vv²¹⁻²³". LXX's solution is to read πασσι αὐτῶν υἱῶν Μαχίρ . As the feminine subject clearly refers to καὶ αὐαὶ or πολεῖς , LXX, by its use of υἱῶν is suggesting possession and presupposing לבני . TC follows a similar procedure but in the process בני is eliminated and Machir becomes the possessor reading simply כל אליין הוון דמכיר . Probably the more difficult reading i.e. MT, is to be preferred.

What is of interest here is:

- (i) TC makes clear what is in doubt;
- (ii) this is an "ad sensum" change; it has not come about through any attempt to apply the text to a current theological or political problem. In the nature of things, such changes are very probably early. If in fact TC has in any way influenced PC, one should be able to see the influence at places such as this. Unfortunately 1. above has prevented our testing this principle in this verse!

1. p. 91.

2:24

It is difficult to translate MT of this verse. Following the Massoretic division, the literal translation is as follows:

"And after the death of Hezron in Caleb-Ephrathah, and the wife of Hezron (was) Abijah, and she bore to him Ashhur the father of Tekoa."

One way of understanding the above translation, though it is not without its difficulties, is:

"After the death of Hezron in Caleb-Ephrathah, his widow, Abijah, bore to him Ashhur, the father of Tekoa."

Taking this in the context of the preceding verses, we have the following picture of Hezron's family life:

- (1) 2:9. Hezron married an unnamed wife, with three children, Jerahmeel, Ram, Chelubai.
 - (2) 2:21. Hezron married Machir's daughter, who bore him Segub.
 - (3) 2:24. Hezron married Abijah who (after his death) bore him Ashhur.
- Thus Hezron had three wives (cf. Keil¹) and five children. Or, if we telescope (2) and (3), Hezron had two wives, Machir's daughter and Abijah being identical; Abijah bore him Segub before his death and Ashhur afterwards.

There is no doubt but that MT of 2:24 reads awkwardly; e.g. is 2:24b α a circumstantial clause? If so we have a problem with the subject of וְהָיָה in 2:24b β . If we regard 2:24b α as beginning a new clause leading directly into 2:24b β , 2:24a is then left suspended in mid-air. And who is the Ashhur of 2:24? Is he the same as Hur in 2:19? If so, 2:19 makes Caleb his father, but in 2:24 Hezron is his father. What of Caleb-Ephrathah? Is it a place name? Or, bearing

1. p. 66.

in mind that in 2:19 Caleb and Ephrath have got married, is there perhaps some personal rather than topographical reference intended?

One can easily understand therefore, why most modern commentators have not been happy with the MT of this verse. Curtis and Ehrlich sum up the general feeling, the former stating bluntly that here MT "is clearly corrupt"¹ the latter splitting the verse in two and echoing the same thought "Hier ist V. a total Korrupt" and "Der zweite Halbvers ist heillos verderbt".² The suggestions they put forward to improve MT rely heavily on the Versions who also had some difficulty with this verse.

To look now at the textual problems raised:

TC וּמִן בֵּתָר כִּרְיִן מִית חֲצִרִין
PC סַחַב בָּהֶם; וְסַחַב עִלָּהּ שָׁמָּה

In MT the preposition מִן is closely linked with מִית , whereas in TC and PC it is taken as an adverbial phrase and thus separates itself off somewhat from what follows. By changing slightly the structure of the sentence a slight change of meaning is introduced but this is not of much consequence.

אֶפְרַתָּה Eφραθα εἰς ἁλας αὐθιγῶν LXX

Arm. שְׁקִיף־עַל־בְּתָרִין אֶל־הַיָּם

Vg. ingressus est Caleb ad Ephratha.

TC בְּרֵית כָּלֵב בְּרִיָּה בְּאֶפְרַת

PC בָּהֶם, מִלֵּב בָּהֶם

(The strange reading in 9 a 1 בָּהֶם, מִלֵּב בָּהֶם seems to be a copyist's error arising from the fact that in 9 a 1 the line immediately above ends thus: .) בָּהֶם; וְסַחַב

1. p. 92.

2. p. 326.

Here we have two separate groups of readings:

(a) LXX, Arm. and Vg. presuppose בָּא כָּלֵב אֶפְרַתָּה .

If this is accepted, another question arises:

Is אֶפְרַתָּה (i) a person, or (ii) a place?

If (i), a person, who is she? From 2:19 Ephrath is Caleb's wife and the statement means simply that after Hezron's death, Caleb had intercourse with his wife. After such a statement we expect the next clause to read - "and she bore him X". If we take 2:24b α as a circumstantial clause the sentence would read: "and after the death of Hezron, Caleb came to Ephrath - now the wife of Hezron was Abijah - and she (i.e. Ephrath) bore him (i.e. Caleb) Ashhur, the father of Tekoa". If we take 2:24b α as being closely linked with 2:24b β , as Brooke-McLean punctuate it (and as Arm. and Vg. also understand it) we then have a generation problem: "And after the death of Hezron, Caleb came to Ephrath; now the wife of Hezron was Abijah and she (i.e. Abijah) bore him (i.e. Hezron) Ashhur, the father of Tekoa". If this is the correct understanding of the verse we may ask why we are told at all that Caleb had intercourse with Ephrath.

So far I have worked on the principle that Ephrath is a person and that 'coming to her' has sexual implications. But it is not certain that this is what the Versions have in mind. A sample of the Greek rendering of בָּא . . . אֶל , where the Hebrew clearly implied sexual intercourse, produced the following result: of seven instances in Gen., Jud., Sam., I Chr.,¹ one had εἰσπορευομαι προς , six had εἰσερχομαι προς . In I Chr. 2:24, the fact that, instead of the more common εἰσερχομαι προς , we have εἰρχομαι εἰς

1. Gen. 6:4, 16:2, 16:4; Jud. 15:1, 16:1; II Sam. 12:24; I Chr. 2:21

suggests that the LXX may not have had sexual intercourse in mind; indeed that it may not have thought of Ephrath as a person. This may find confirmation in the fact that MSS b and y read $\epsilon^2\sigma\mu\lambda\theta\epsilon$ $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$, which may indicate the hand of a reviser who assumed the expression to have a sexual connotation and was anxious to bring it into conformity with the usage as found, e.g. in the instances referred to above.

If (ii), Ephrath refers to a place, then 2:24 in LXX, Vg. and Arm., is simply a statement of mobility: "After the death of Hezron, Caleb made his way to Ephrath".

Modern scholars, beginning with Wellhausen, having accepted the LXX reading for the first part of the verse, and having understood that reading to refer to Ephrath as a person, i.e. with sexual implications, felt unhappy with the second part of the verse, especially 2:24b α , and by some surgery and remodelling - by removing a λ and repointing η $\alpha\beta\iota\eta$ - they transformed Ephrath into the widow of Caleb's father.

ואחר מית חצרון בא כלב אפרתה אשת חצרון אֲבִיָּהּ

This is the reading followed, e.g. by Rothstein, Curtis, Rudolph, Myers. Indeed Curtis asserts confidently¹ that the text as quoted above was undoubtedly "the true text", and in commenting on this text, quotes II Sam. 16:22 and I Ki. 2:13-25, as evidence that in his action Caleb was following an attested sociological pattern²: "The taking of a father's wife was asserting claim to the father's possessions . . .". ARSV, JB, and TEV also follow the above reading. NEB accepts the LXX reading for 2:24a, but follows PC in 2:24b α , i.e. omits it, giving:

1. p. 93.

2. p. 92.

"After the death of Hezron, Caleb had intercourse with Ephrathah".

The "new translation", i.e. as suggested by the above commentators, is reflected in ARSV: "After the death of Hezron, Caleb went in to Ephrathah, the wife of Hezron his father, and she bore him Ashhur the father of Tekoa". This gives us the following picture of Hezron and Caleb:

HEZRON - had three wives (a) unnamed (b) Machir's daughter (c) Ephrath. This could be reduced to two by regarding (b) and (c) as referring to the same person.

CALEB - had three wives (a) Azubah (accepting אִשָּׁהּ for אִשָּׁה) (b) Ephrath (c) Ephrath, his father's widow.

On the face of it, this implies that Hezron and Caleb each had wives with the same name, Ephrath; it implies further that Caleb married his father's widow whilst his own wife was still alive. These difficulties however are resolved by the commentators listed above by merging (b) and (c), and regarding 2:24 as a duplicate of 2:19.

There are two things which should be said about the solution suggested by Wellhausen and other commentators:

1. None of the commentators or translations mentioned regards Ephrath as a place name, as they all go on to identify Ephrath as Hezron's wife. I feel that a case can be made for the Versions' (LXX, Vg, Arm.) regarding it as a place name. If this is so then these Versions are following the same pattern as TC and PC, who take Ephrath as a place name, though in slightly different ways.

2. By accepting only one of the two possible interpretations of Ephrath, i.e. the personal, Wellhausen etc. felt obliged to go much further and alter completely the next clause, for which alteration there does not seem to be any confirmatory textual evidence, except

that the clause in question reads rather awkwardly.

This leads to a basic question - is it advisable to accept the LXX reading at this point for 2:24a?

L. C. Allen¹ draws attention to an article by G. R. Driver² who "mentions the suggestion that verbs with final א may at one stage have been written without it". Allen feels that this helps to validate LXX's אֶלְתֵּי < אֵל. Driver, however, does not seem over enthusiastic about this final א type of abbreviation, and he cites only two examples neither of which has a final 'a' sound - e.g. אֵבֶּ for אֵבֶּי.

Whether LXX has preserved the original or whether the LXX reading has arisen through, e.g. an aural error, is difficult to say. I do not feel, however, that there is sufficient textual reason for changing MT. Admittedly, as pointed out above, 2:24b does read awkwardly (as do many passages in Chr.): indeed Rudolph³ regards it in the context as "unverständlich"; but if, in order to make it "verständlich", the text has to be so drastically dealt with as seen above, perhaps the solution proposed is open to question.

If then, we leave MT as it stands, כָּלֶב אֶפְרַתָּה must be a place name.⁴ The facts that (a) the place is unidentified, and (b) the elements in the name have just been used as person-names, do create problems. On the other hand, the fact that both elements in the name are used elsewhere as components of place-names, I Sam. 30:14 כָּלֶב וְעֵל נֶגֶב and Mi. 5:1 בֵּית לָחֶם אֶפְרַתָּה does leave the possibility open that the expression may have a similar significance in I Chr. 2:24.

1. II, p. 87.

2. "Abbreviations in the Massoretic Text", Textus I (1963), p. 118.

3. p. 16.

4. cf. BERTHEAU, p. 16.

(b) The second group of variants, in TC and PC, to 2:24 a ב, I shall consider below under the heading 'Targumic Expansion'.

[ואשת חזרון אביה ותלך לו את אשחור

מלכה וסמל למלך אלהים; PC

i.e. PC omits 2:24b α , and in 24b β inserts מלך after למ.

The omission may find an explanation through Homoioteleuton, caused by similarity of ending of אפרתה and אביה. But I can find no ground whatever for the insertion of מלך.

In spite of the omission of 2:23 and 2:24b α , PC still makes sense: the 'she' of מלכה obviously refers back to Machir's daughter of 2:21, the last named female.

TARGUMIC EXPANSION

"And after this Hezron died in the house of Caleb his son in Ephrath, and Hezron's wife Abijah, the daughter of Machir, was left pregnant, and she bore to him Ashhur the chief of the Tekoaites."

Both TC and PC treat כלב as a person-name and אפרתה as a place-name:

בכלב אפרתה MT

בבית כלב בריה באפרת TC

בבית כלב בריה באפרת PC

Both TC and PC have made a deliberate alteration to MT. For some reason neither of them wished to translate MT as it stood. This raises two questions:

1. What was the reason for the alteration?
2. In that TC and PC make a similar kind of alteration, did either influence the other?

1. TC may have been unhappy about the phrase because, while Ephrath

was known as a place name, e.g., Mi. 5:1; Ruth 4:11, he was unaware of any such place with a prefixed Caleb and, feeling that Caleb had been just mentioned as a person and that some confusion had entered, he decided to remove the confusion by restoring Caleb's status as a person and therefore prefixed בִּית to Caleb and, to confirm the personal status added בְּרִיה after Caleb.

2. The fact that PC has a similar approach, but with slightly different wording, may lend a little credence to the view that the Peshitta was translated from a version of the Palestinian Targum, not necessarily from the one which we possess.

Shem. R. (XL. 4) also has a problem with MT: indeed it finds the expression בכלב unintelligible:

"Can then a man die within another man, that it is written, 'and after that Hezron was dead in Caleb-Ephrath'? Resh Lakish explained this verse to mean that when Hezron died, Caleb came ('ba-Caleb') to Ephrath."

Thus Resh Lakish, or at least Shem. R., may have been aware of the variant reading we find in LXX. But whether or not TC saw the problem in the same way as Shem. R. and knew its solution but rejected it - perhaps on the ground of relationship, - we cannot say. Nor have we any means of knowing whether Shem. R. was aware of TC's approach. All that we can say is that TC and PC were unhappy about MT as it stood, and that they dealt with their problem in a similar way.

The remaining expansions in this verse are simply instances of the Targumist's ensuring that any difficulties in MT are resolved and that what is latent in MT is patent in TC.

"And Hezron's wife Abijah, the daughter of Machir, was left pregnant . . .".

One of the reasons for difficulty with 2:24b^x was the uncertainty of its status as a clause. TC removes the uncertainty by making it a main clause with a finite verb, and by referring it clearly to Abijah, which then makes her also the subject of the following clause. Having done this, TC goes on:

(a) to identify Abijah with the daughter of Machir (2:21), and he thus regards Hezron as contracting only two marriages;

(b) to place on record the fact that Hezron is indeed the father of Ashhur. Though this is explicit in the text, it being clearly stated that she bore to him (לו) Ashhur, TC somewhat pedantically underlines the fact by stating that after his death אשתו ירית

מעברה "she was left pregnant; "Sperber's edition underlines the fact still further by adding after "she bore to him", the words

ביתר מותיה

At the end of the verse, אשחור אבי תקוצ becomes
אשחור רבהון תקוצא. The man תקוצ has become a group, a device employed in a similar way in NEB, "Ashhur, founder of Tekoa", only this time the man has become a town!

TARGUM and PESHITTA

At two points we see similarities between TC and PC:

- (a) MT ואחר מות חצרון
TC ומן ביתר כרין מית חצרון
PC ספח בלח; וסלח ספח סלח

Not only is there similarity of wording between TC and PC, the slight alteration of structure in TC is found also in PC.

- (b) MT בכלב אפרתה
TC בבית כלב בריה באפרת
PC בא;א, כלב בא;א

The significant thing here is that TC and PC have the same 'framework' for their variants i.e. Caleb is a person, Ephrath is a place, though they fill in the details in a slightly different way.

I Chr. 2:25-33 THE FAMILIES OF THE JERAHMEELITES

2:25

Apart from some minor variants, e.g. PC omits **הבכור** in the phrase **הבכור רם**, the major textual problem centres on the last word of the verse, **אחיה**. Should it be **ואחיה** or **אחיה**, or **מאחיה**, or **אחיהיה** or something else?

הבכור רם ובונה וארן ואזם אחיה

We have, apparently a list of five sons of Jerahmeel. Sons two, three and four are joined, each to his predecessor, by **ו**, but this is lacking with son five, **אחיה**. The Versions show quite a range of difference:

אחיה	αδελφος	אזם	LXX	} אחיהיה (אחיה)
אחיה	קנאן	אזם	Arm.	
		ואחיה	TC, Vg.	
		אזם	PC	< אחיה

The readings of LXX, Arm and PC indicate that there was a difficulty, while those of TC and Vg indicate an apparent attempt to solve it by prefixing **ו** - unless TC and Vg have preserved the original reading, which seems less likely. It is difficult to see, on textual grounds how PC reached the reading **אזם**. This presupposes that **אזם** is female, though, as Rudolph¹ points out, it is of interest that in 2:15 we also have an **אזם**, a brother of David.

1. p. 16.

Modern commentators and translators tend to follow or adapt the readings of either TC or LXX, or else put forward something entirely different, e.g. Curtis¹ follows LXX and Arm, "his brother". Myers,² AV, ARSV, TEV follow TC and Vg and insert "and" before Ahijah. Wellhausen suggests we read אֶחָיו "his brothers", i.e. the brothers of Ram.

Several (Bertheau,³ Keil,⁴ Rudolph⁵) suggest an approach not attested in the Versions: they regard the original reading as אֶחָיו, the second אֶ having fallen out by Haplography, thus making Ahijah the mother of the preceding four sons. This approach receives some support from the fact that 2:26 begins: "And Jerahmeel had another wife", the implication being 'in addition to the one just mentioned'. The difficulty here is that apart from Ram, we have no further information on the succeeding four names and therefore no data to use for purposes of cross reference. All that we can say is that the fact that the most likely reading אֶחָיו has no support in the Versions suggests that - if this is the correct reading - the אֶ must have disappeared very early.

TARGUM and PESHITTA

- (a) TC follows MT in inserting הַבְּכִיר . PC omits.
- (b) TC follows MT by treating אֶחָיו as a proper name, but departs from MT by inserting a copula before it וְאֶחָיו . PC reads אֶחָיו .
- (a) in PC seems to be an inexplicable scribal error.

1. p. 93.
 2. I, p. 10.
 3. p. 17.
 4. p. 66.
 5. p. 16.

(b) is more significant. Had PC followed TC at this point the argument for dependence of PC on TC would not necessarily have been strengthened, as the insertion of a copula would have been a natural way of resolving the difficulty. On the other hand the fact that PC differs so sharply from TC makes it rather difficult to show dependence of PC on TC.

Apart from attributing it to an instance of bad copying, there is no obvious basis for PC's reading. It seems unlikely to have come from (ܓ)ܡܢܢܐ. But it could have been a misreading of $\alpha^2\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\alpha\varsigma$ $\alpha^2\tau\alpha\upsilon$, $-\alpha^2\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\eta$ $\alpha^2\tau\alpha\upsilon\varsigma$!

In the remaining verses in this section, there is little which requires detailed comment. Some points, however, may be mentioned:

1. There is a faint suggestion of a link between LXX and PC, e.g.:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-------|--|----------------|---|
| (a) | 2:31 | ܡܢܢܐ] | $\Sigma\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$
$\Sigma\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$ | LXXB
LXXA } | \leftarrow $\sigma\sigma\sigma$ PC |
| (b) | 2:32 | ܡܢܢܐ] | $\lambda\delta\alpha\upsilon\delta\alpha$
$\lambda\epsilon\delta\delta\alpha\epsilon$ | LXXB
LXXA } | \leftarrow $\sigma\sigma$ ܡܢܢܐ, ܡܢܢܐ, ܡܢܢܐ ܡܢܢܐ |

(a) Here the link seems quite close, though Rothstein¹ suggests that $\lambda\omega\omega$, written $\lambda\omega\iota\omega$, became $\lambda\omega\iota\omega$, thus giving us $\Sigma\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$ and $\leftarrow\sigma\sigma\sigma$.

(b) L. C. Allen² explains the LXX B reading thus: " $\lambda\delta\alpha$. . . became $\lambda\delta\alpha\upsilon$, a familiar word, and then the correction was added on". The fact that there are two strands in the Syriac tradition makes things a little difficult, but in spite of the difference there is an α in the word which has appeared from somewhere. There may be some link at this point between $\sigma\sigma$ and $\lambda\delta\alpha\upsilon$ in Allen's "pre-

1. p. 26.

2. I, p. 154.

correction" stage.

All that can be said at this point is that here and there we have a faint suggestion of some kind of connection between the LXX tradition and that of the Peshitta, e.g. as in (a) above:

ןשן Σωσαν ← ● ● ●

2. As in MT 1:41 and 2:7, 8, so in 2:31 we have "the sons of X", followed by only one name. In all the Versions, the procedure adopted in each case (except Vg 2:31 which has 'filius') is to retain the plural. What is of interest is that TC, which so often tries to remove or soften incongruities and to 'make the rough places plain', in all the above instances follows MT and retains the plural.

3. In 2:32, for יתן יתן יתן יתן
we have in LXX B καὶ υἱοὶ Ἰδουδα Ἀχεισαμας [Ἀχισαμμα Α]
and in Arm (Z) որդիք աղայիայ աբիսամա.

but in Arm (Oskan) եւ որդիք եղլիա եղբաւր աբիսամայ .

It is possible to see how եղլիա came from some such reading as εδδα(α, η) because of the similarity of η(δ) to η. But the fact that "the brother of", יתן, is found, not only as a part of the proper name աբիսամայ(յ) (cf. LXX A Ἀχισαμμα), but also in the preceding common noun եղբաւր may indicate that this translator, or reviser, had before him a Hebrew text, or a Greek text which had made some attempt at revision, e.g. ἀδελφου σεμει (y, e₂), though there is no reading in apparatus criticus of Brooke-McLean which could be regarded as exactly the parent of:

եղբաւր աբիսամայ, i.e., ἀδελφου Ἀχισαμα

TARGUM and PESHITTA

TC stands coldly aloof from most of the textual problems discussed and the influence of TC on PC can be regarded as non-existent.

I Chr. 2:34-41 THE PEDIGREE OF ELISHAMA, A

DESCENDANT OF THE JERAHMEELITE SHESHAN

2:34

Only PC seems to have had difficulty with this verse and his translation at certain points becomes particularly prolix:

(a)]בָּנִים כִּי אִם בָּנוֹת

PC בָּנִים, בָּנוֹת, אִם, כִּי, בָּנוֹת, בָּנוֹת

Why it was necessary to add adjectives denoting gender to nouns which, normally by their very nature, but here in particular where they are set in contrast to each other, leave no doubt as to gender, is difficult to say.

Perhaps the translator, fearing that בָּנִים might be interpreted as referring to "children" in general felt he should make the meaning more specific by adding "male", and when he came to בָּנוֹת he was in duty bound to add the corresponding adjective to balance his previous attempt, though 9 a 1 omits the בָּנוֹת.

This approach could be extended to include 2:31 giving a slightly different, and more likely possibility: 2:31 tells us יָרַח שֶׁשָּׁן
אִם לֹא; it is somewhat of a surprise, then, to read in 2:34 that Sheshan had no sons, only daughters. While this apparent contradiction troubles commentators, none of the Versions makes any attempt to resolve it. It is possible that PC is the exception to this and that in his attempt to resolve the contradiction, he takes the בָּנִים of 2:31 as a general term, and includes the rather cumbersome expression in 2:34 quoted above as his way of saying - while Sheshan had children (2:31), there were no males, only females (2:34). Fraenkel felt that בָּנִים, בָּנוֹת was the original for בָּנִים, בָּנוֹת

in 2:18.¹

(b) [ולששן] 7 a 1, which, translated literally PC

(c) [עבדמזרי] 7 a 1

By this circumlocution, the translator has

- (i) avoided all reference to the fact that Yarha was a slave;
- (ii) forestalled the other Versions, who, like MT, do not mention

Yarha's entry to Sheshan's family until 2:35.

For [ממזרים] 7 a 1, which, translated literally is "from the Egyptians", [ממזרים] is the reading of 6 h 13, and 12 a 1. The only way I can account for the latter reading is to regard it as a misreading of [ממזרים] by a scribe who regarded [ממזרים] as an alternative name for [ממזרים]. The name [ממזרים] is not found in R. Payne Smith's Thesaurus. 9 a 1 seems to have [ממזרים], which may be meant as a place name, Masada.

2:35

[לירחע עבדו] PC

In the preceding verse PC has been very wordy; here a much greater economy in the use of words is exercised. Vg shows a similar approach reading 'ei' and, like PC, omitting [ששן] as subject. There is nothing significant in such changes and similarities for, Yarha being the last term in the preceding sentence, to refer to him by a pronoun produces a better flow of language without introducing any ambiguity. Indeed this time it is MT which is rather prolix!

TARGUMIC EXPANSION

"And he released him, and Sheshan gave his daughter in marriage to Yarha his slave and she bore him Attai."

1. See above, p. 162.

Of the Versions, TC alone introduces a completely new note. While it follows MT exactly, it prefixes to the sentence the words **וְשֶׁשָׁן** **יָתִיד**.

The picture given us in these two verses by MT is as follows: Sheshan has no sons but he has an Egyptian slave called Yarha, to whom he marries his daughter, a procedure followed no doubt to ensure the continuance of the line. The far-off descendant of this union is Elishamma (2:41).

The Old Testament gives instructions as to how a man is to deal with an **עֶבֶר עֲבָדָה** (e.g. Ex. 21:1-6), but - assuming that the **עֶבֶר** here refers to a native Hebrew¹ - we are not given much guidance about the treatment of foreign slaves, who were possibly more thought of as simply the property of the owner. We have instances in the Old Testament of men using female foreign slaves as mothers of their children, e.g. Abraham and Hagar the Egyptian in Gen. 16. Deut. 21:10-14 gives some guidance about the treatment of concubines captured in war - marry them, but if they prove unsatisfactory, release them. But there is no guidance given as to what should happen if a male slave marries the daughter of the house. Indeed the only example I have been able to find in the Old Testament is the one recorded in I Chr. 2:34-35. The fact that paragraphs 175, 176 and 176a of The Code of Hammurabi² provide guidance on certain issues which may arise after such a marriage indicates that the practice was known elsewhere.

In the Talmud, regulations about slaves are worked out in more detail. b. Pes. 113a has the somewhat cryptic statement **בֵּית דִּין בְּגֵרָה**

1. cf. J. P. HYATT, Exodus (1971), p. 228; B. S. CHILDS, Exodus (1974), p. 468.
2. J. B. PRITCHARD, ANET, p. 174.

ל ה , שחרר עבדך ונתן ל ה , from R. Joshua b. Levi (some MSS omit 'b. Levi'). It is difficult to know exactly what is involved here; the statement is embedded in a passage which is full of sayings of practical wisdom, e.g. if you go out to battle, go out last so that you will be the first to come home - a practice which would have disastrous consequences if applied universally! Many of these are arranged in groups of three without any apparent close link of meaning between the sayings; the only such link in the triad in which the 'slave saying' occurs seems to be that of relationships between the sexes. One assumes that the suggestion in this saying is that if it has been impossible to arrange a marriage for one's daughter, rather than allow the line to cease release your slave - and here there is no hint as to the national origin of the slave - and let him be your son-in-law and the father of your descendants. There is also the possibility that this saying arose at a time of crisis: things are so bad that, as soon as your daughter is marriageable, have her married - it doesn't matter to whom, your slave will do. One way or other, marriage to the master's daughter implied release of the slave from his official bondage. Or to put it otherwise - your free-born daughter cannot marry a slave: he must first be emancipated.

In b. Git. 39b-40a we have a similar emphasis. R. Zera said in the name of R. Hanina who said in the name of R. Ashi:

אמר רבי עבד שנשא את בת חורין בפני רבו יצא לחירות

In spite of some discussion on the truth of this, the decision seems to be in its favour.

The same point is made in y. Git. 45d. "R. Hanina said in the name of R. Ismael b. R. Yoseh: עבד שנשא בת חורין לפני

רבו יצא לחירות

This general approach is seen, though from a slightly different angle, in the unusual instance in m. Git. where a man is half-bond and half-free, and as he can now not marry with either group, the school of Shammai, trying to safeguard the rights of the half-slave, said that he is to be set free in order that he may have the ability to procreate, as was the Divine intention.

Thus TC, by its 'prefixed expansion', ensures that Sheshan acts according to the current procedure: he frees his slave and gives him his daughter as wife. TC seems to be relying more on b. Pes. 113a than on the references in b. Git and y. Git. There is a close similarity of language in TC and b. Pes. 113a in the use of שחרר and יָהַב /

יָתַן. But the more important aspect is that the Git. references imply that through the marriage the male slave automatically becomes free, whereas the b. Pes. reference - irrespective of the occasion which produced such a saying - clearly states: "Free thy slave and give her to him", which is exactly what Sheshan does - and in that order.

TARGUM and PESHITTA

The contrast between TC's and PC's handling of these verses can best be seen by placing the translations alongside each other.

TC 2:34 "And Sheshan had no sons, only daughters; and Sheshan had an Egyptian slave whose name was Yarha, (35) and he released him, and Sheshan gave his daughter in marriage to Yarha his slave; and she bore him Attai."

PC 2:34 "And Shoushan had no male sons, only female daughters; and Shoushan had (a man) a son-in-law from the Egyptians whose name was Yardeha, (35) and Shoushan gave him his daughter as wife and she bore him Attai."

(a) In neither can there be seen to be a close link between TC and PC.

In 2:34 the unusual examples of prolixity found in PC find no parallel whatever in TC which in this verse follows MT word for word, except that היה in MT becomes היו in TC, which is more in keeping with a plural subject.

In 2:35 PC shows no trace of TC's significant 'prefixed expansion'

שחרר יתיה .

(b) (i) PC's translation is so free as to merit the title of a 'targum' on its own account;

(ii) for some reason PC seems very anxious to avoid all references to Sheshan's daughter's marrying a slave. The translator does not seem to be concerned about his Egyptian connection. Had he perhaps some objection to a slave's entering Sheshan's family in this way?

Or to put it otherwise - was the translation made at some point in time or in some area where it was regarded as unseemly to have male slaves so benignly treated, perhaps at a time when there was a strong feudal emphasis in the religious environment, whether Judaistic or Christian?

The remaining verses in this section present few problems from a textual point of view. There are occasional 'straightforward' errors,

e.g. 2:36 זבר becomes זכר ,

or 2:38 יהוא becomes יהוש in LXX B, but

there is little of significance, and TC follows MT exactly in every verse.

2:42

In MT this verse bristles with difficulties.

"And the sons of Caleb, the brother of Jerahmeel, מִישַׁע his first-born - he is the father of Ziph; and the sons of מְרִשָּׁה, the father of Hebron."

As it stands, מְרִשָּׁה has appeared from nowhere and it is difficult to ascertain his exact relationship to Caleb.

At first sight the Syriac text of this verse seems to offer a significant variant for מִישַׁע in ܡܝܫܥܐ (7 a 1), ܡܝܫܥܐ (8 a 1), ܡܝܫܥܐ (6 h 13 and 9 a 1). But on closer inspection it would appear that these readings came into existence through the influence of ܡܠܝܫܡܥ in 2:41, or - which seems to me much more likely - through the repetition of the last consonants of the preceding word ܝܪܡܝܐ and their attachment to the word in the text. As the latter seems more probable, this variant reading should not be used to support the dittography argument of Curtis mentioned below.¹ The ܡܝܫܥܐ of 7 a 1 for ܡܝܫܥܐ is clearly a scribal error and can be disregarded.

Though the Syriac through careless copying compounds the difficulties in 2:42a, LXX is much more helpful. In LXX B, the two names מִישַׁע and מְרִשָּׁה appear as Μαρισα. LXX A seems to follow the same pattern: Μιρισα becomes Μαρισα, while Μερσα becomes Μαρισα. As the Μαρισα comes at the end of a line, the ς (σ) may have disappeared or we may have a simple case of the 'Doric Genitive'. Arm. makes the same identification, with

1. p. 237.

מִשְׁכָּן לְשֵׁם for both names. Rothstein¹ accepts the LXX's identification as probably the original text. Keil² adopts the same approach, though in reverse! He regards מִשְׁכָּן as original and מִרְשָׁה as the corruption.

The solution of one problem, however, simply highlights the next. We now know that מִשְׁכָּן and מִרְשָׁה are really one person, but we are still left with what seems to be a torso in 2:42b. "And the sons of Caleb . . . M., his first-born . . . and the sons of M., the father of Hebron." The awkward word is "the father of" - אָבִי :

LXX, Arm., TC, PC, Vg retain אָבִי and clearly with the meaning 'the father of', which is rather difficult to follow, e.g. LXX has: "And the sons of Marisa, the father of Hebron": as no list of names follows חֲבֵרֹן, the only way 2:42b can be regarded as making sense is to take it as the writer's way of saying that there were other sons apart from Hebron but not of sufficient importance to merit their being mentioned by name.

Keil³ also retains אָבִי but regards it as a component part of Hebron's name: "And the sons of Mesha were Abi-Hebron". The genealogical picture thus drawn is: Caleb, father of Mesha, father of Ziph and of Abi-Hebron. Keil deals with the resultant difficulty that in 2:43 when the line continues it is not through Abi-Hebron but through Hebron, by regarding the Hebron of 2:43 as a shortened form of Abi-Hebron. This does not sound very convincing and deprives his solution of considerable credibility.

1. p. 29.

2. pp. 68-70.

3. p. 70.

Rothstein¹ who, following Kittel and Benzinger, had favoured the LXX's identification of מִישַׁע and מֶרְשָׁה, now parts company with LXX and deletes אָבִי and would like to change יִבְנִי to יִבֵּן, giving "And the son of Mareshah, Hebron". This gives a very neat genealogical picture: Caleb, father of Mareshah, father of Ziph and of Hebron.

Curtis² deletes both names מִישַׁע and מֶרְשָׁה, as ditto-graphies from 2:41 through the influence of אֱלִישָׁמַע.

Rudolph's suggestion³ is the most ingenious and certainly the most plausible. Before מֶרְשָׁה יִבְנִי he inserts מֶשָׁה, these words having been omitted through Homoiokton. His genealogical picture then reads: Caleb, father of Mesha (father of Ziph) and of Mareshah (father of Hebron).

Such speculation, however, can become endless. Each commentator puts forward his suggestion which has a greater or less degree of plausibility. But manuscript support from the Hebrew text or from the Versions is lacking for all the suggestions. The Versions are not of much assistance, because - and this is the most interesting factor - they all (TC, LXX, PC, Arm, Vg) support the MT of 2:42b, each taking אָבִי to mean "father of", in spite of its seeming lack of intelligibility.

In contrast to the Ancient Versions the Modern English Versions, on the whole, try to improve the text. Rather than reproduce these verbatim, it is enough to state the general conclusions which emerge from an examination of ancient and modern commentaries and Versions.

1. p. 29

2. p. 95

3. p. 18

From these there are three possibilities in Hebron's relationship to Caleb:

- (a) Unknown: MT, TC, PC, Vg, AV, RV.
- (b) Grandson: LXX, Arm, Rothstein, Keil, Curtis, Rudolph, ARSV.
- (c) Great-great-grandson: TEV and (?) JB.
- (d) Name of town founded by Caleb's son, Mareshah: NEB.

This rather wide range of possibilities makes dogmatism unwise. If a choice had to be made, I would regard Rudolph's solution as the most satisfactory but the lack of supporting manuscript evidence leaves one with a feeling of uncertainty. A further possibility is that זיף and מרשה may have been alternative names for the same person with 2:42b suggesting that while there were other sons of Ziph/Mareshah, only Hebron was of importance. This, however, sounds too much like special pleading, especially as towns with these names in Jos. 15 are obviously different places. At the end of the day one may have to fall back on the comment of Bertheau speaking of 2:42-49 that they are "sehr dunkle Verse" - and add that this is especially true of 2:42!

TARGUMIC EXPANSION

הוא רבהון רזיפאי] הוא אבי זיף TC.

"The father of Ziph" becomes "the chief of the Ziphites", a procedure similar to that followed in 2:24.

TARGUM and PESHITTA

There is no direct connection between them, as they both follow MT so closely and the PC variants seem to be due to careless copying more than to any other factor.

2:43

Some LXX MSS (h, y) omit **וּבְנֵי חֶבְרוֹן**, as does PC. Rudolph¹ wants to do likewise for MT, regarding the offending words as having entered MT through Dittography. This, of course, is a double-edged argument: it could be argued, with equal validity, that in the MSS listed above the words **וּבְנֵי חֶבְרוֹן** have been omitted through Homoioteleuton in the same way as LXX A and Arm have omitted **וְשֵׁמֶעַ** at the end of the verse. The deadlock may be resolved if one of the alternatives were to give much better sense than the other:

(a) Omit **וּבְנֵי חֶבְרוֹן**

"And the sons of Mareshah, father of Hebron, Qorah, etc." This is possible, the implication being that Hebron is the most important of the sons named;

(b) Retain **וּבְנֵי חֶבְרוֹן**

"And the sons of Mareshah, father of Hebron. And the sons of Hebron, Qorah, etc." This is equally possible for though there is the difference of one generation, we have no other evidence to help us in determining to which generation Qorah, etc. actually belong.

As the 'sense' approach does not help sufficiently to resolve the deadlock, I see no compelling reason to set aside the MT.

TARGUM and PESHITTA

As the omission in PC has arisen most probably through Homoioteleuton I would regard MT, TC and PC as exhibiting the same text.

2:44

TC follows MT exactly and the problems we have in the other Versions centre around **וּבְנֵי חֶבְרוֹן** and **וְשֵׁמֶעַ**.

1. p. 18.

(a) יִרְעָם This name does not appear elsewhere in the Old Testament, and some commentators, e.g. Curtis¹ want to identify it with יִרְעָם of Jos. 15:56, but, with unknowns being involved, Rudolph² sees little point in making any change. L. C. Allen³ notes that while here for יִרְעָם LXX B reads $\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha\nu$, in Jos. 15:56 for יִרְעָם LXX B reads $\lambda\rho\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\mu$ implying that all we can deduce from such readings is that it is notoriously easy to confuse ר and ל.

(b) יִרְעָם] $\lambda\epsilon\kappa\lambda\alpha\nu$ LXX B $\lambda\rho\epsilon\kappa\alpha\alpha\nu$ LXX A.
 יִרְעָם PC
 יִרְעָם Arm.

The significant thing here is that these MSS largely use the same word for יִרְעָם as they have just used for יִרְעָם whereas in 2:43 they had used a different word for יִרְעָם, e.g. PC has for יִרְעָם (43) $\rho\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\mu$; for יִרְעָם (44) $\lambda\epsilon\kappa\lambda\alpha\nu$, and for יִרְעָם (44) $\lambda\rho\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\mu$. All of which is of little significance, except:

- (i) to highlight a certain carelessness or tiredness on the part of copyists, which is particularly obvious in LXX B where, for יִרְעָם (43) he has $\rho\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\mu$, for יִרְעָם (44) he has $\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha\nu$, but for יִרְעָם (44) he has $\lambda\epsilon\kappa\lambda\alpha\nu$!
- (ii) to draw attention again⁴ to a hint of a relationship between LXX and Syr.

2:45 is missing in PC, and there is no apparent textual reason for the omission.

1. p. 99

2. p. 18

3. II, 112

4. p. 228.

2:46

This verse has suffered badly in the Versions.

There are several straightforward errors which can be explained through the normal hazards of text-transmission, e.g.:

(a) PC omits $\text{וְאֵת מוֹצֵא וְאֵת גִּזְרֵי}$, clearly through Homioteleuton (חרך);

(b) Arm, for the same reason, omits $\text{וְיִחְרֹךְ הוֹלִיד אֶת גִּזְרֵי}$, the operative word this time being גִּזְרֵי .

(c) PC, after omitting 2:45, returns to MT with the beginning of this verse. 7 a 1 links 2:44 and 2:46 by וְכֵן , giving us: "And Jorkeam fathered Sammai from Uphna, the concubine of Caleb", a procedure which not only crosses family lines but also spans several generations in the process.

The more difficult problem, however, centres around וְאֵת גִּזְרֵי , of whom, in MT, there are two:

- (i) Gazez; son of Ephah/Caleb.
- (ii) Gazez; son of Haran and grandson of Ephah/Caleb.

Gazez (i) is uncle of Gazez (ii), which, of course, is perfectly possible.

According to de Rossi,¹ some Hebrew MSS read וְאֵת גִּזְרֵי for וְאֵת גִּזְרֵי , but he does not state whether this refers to Gazez (i) or to Gazez (ii) or to both. Rudolph, in BHS, refers it to Gazez (i) only; in view of this confusion, the value of the PC variant in 6 h 13, וְאֵת גִּזְרֵי , is diminished, as, Gazez (i) being omitted in PC, וְאֵת גִּזְרֵי can refer only to Gazez (ii) but we have no means of knowing what the Vorlage of 6 h 13 read for our וְאֵת גִּזְרֵי (i).

1. p. 171.

Rudolph¹ following Richter suggests that for $\tau\tau\lambda$ (ii) we read יהרי . This latter name occurs without any warning at the beginning of 2:47, and Rudolph thinks that originally it was also the last word in 2:46 but that a careless copyist, having written $\tau\tau\lambda$ once, wrote it again instead of יהרי .

There were, no doubt, many careless copyists, but whether they should constantly be introduced as the key to our textual problems is another matter - unless, of course, there is a clear indication of the nature of their carelessness. Rudolph's suggestion certainly solves the problem of the unheralded emergence of יהרי in 2:47 and the consequent problem of a break in the Caleb family tree, but it must be noted that neither of these problems caused the Versions any concern and it may be that Rudolph is looking for more consistency and genealogical neatness than the Chronicler was interested in, for the latter may have found himself with a stray or floating list which he put along with his scheme without making any serious attempt to integrate it into that scheme. This seems to be recognised by TEV, which prints 2:47 in brackets (A man named Jahdai had six sons . . .), so leaving the relationship between it and other verses indeterminate.

Other Versions may have had trouble with this verse, but TC seemingly had none, as it follows MT exactly.

2:47 TC agrees exactly with MT, but unfortunately the verse is missing in Syriac.

2:48

This verse shows us the Targumist engaged in a "tidying-up operation" on the Biblical text. He makes two minor adjustments to remove

1. p. 18.

infelicities in MT;

(a) in MT פלגש, a feminine subject, has ילר, a masculine verb. Whether or not a case can be made out for retaining ילר as Rudolph¹ and Keil² believe, does not particularly concern the Targumist; he simply gives the appropriate feminine form of the verb ילדו; as do several MSS listed by de Rossi.³

(b) in MT, Maacah's two sons are שבר and תרחנה. As both are definite, direct objects, one would expect את with each of them. In the event only תרחנה is so provided; TC provides שבר with ית also! Rothstein⁴ suggests that the presence of טו in LXX probably presupposes את in MT. This argument, however, is not completely sound, for LXX may have been doing exactly what TC is doing i.e. supplying את / טו where he regarded it as necessary in MT.⁵

This verse is missing in PC.

2:49

This verse is a good illustration of the difficulty of some of the Chronicler's verses, where there is little cross-reference to other parts of the Bible and one is left simply with the text.

ותלר שפא אבי מרחנה את שוא אבי מכבנה
ואבי גבעא ובת כלב עכסה;

ARSV translates as follows:

"She" (i.e. Maacah, Caleb's concubine) "also bore Shaaph the father of Madmannah, Sheva the father of Machbenah and the father of Gibeah; and the daughter of Caleb was Achsah."

1. p. 20

2. p. 71

3. p. 171

4. p. 31

5. cf. ALLEN, I, 41.

1. וַתֵּלֶד שַׁפָּה "And she bore Shaaph."

Some commentators are unhappy that Shaaph, son of Johdai (2:47), should now be transformed into Shaaph, son of Maacah, Caleb's concubine. The following solutions are put forward:

(a) For וַתֵּלֶד read וַיֵּלֶד : Kittel, Rudolph,¹ Curtis².

This would make 2:49 a continuation of 2:47. ". . . Shaaph (47) . . .

(49). And Shaaph, father of Madmannah, fathered Shewa . . .". Rudolph feels that this approach is supported by Vg which reads: "Genuit autem Saaph pater Madmena, Sue patrem ---". There is, of course, the possibility that the translator of the Vg may have also felt a difficulty with Shaaph in 2:47 and 2:49 and dealt with the text in such a way as to resolve his difficulty.

(b) For וַתֵּלֶד read וַיֵּלֶד : Rothstein³.

This solution gives teutonic tidiness, but nothing more - and it does not solve the problem of the two mentions of Shaaph.

(c) Take MT as it stands: Keil,⁴ and ARSV, JB, NEB, TEV; i.e. there are two Shaaph's.

(d) Take MT as it stands, but regard שַׁפָּה as Feminine. This seems to be the approach of TC: וַיֵּלֶד שַׁפָּה יֵת אֲבֹהַּ דָּתָא וַיֵּת שׁ. By inserting יֵת before אֲבֹהַּ and not before שַׁפָּה, the only possible translation seems to be: "And Shaaph brought forth the father of M . . . and S . . .", but to translate thus makes שַׁפָּה the mother. שַׁפָּה is normally regarded as masculine, but this, of course, need not be so. In spite of le Déaut's translation:⁵ "Puis elle

1. p. 20

2. p. 99

3. p. 31

4. p. 71

5. I, 45.

enfanta Shaaph, le père de M . . .", TC seems to have taken MT as it stands, but regarded שֶׁפֶּת as subject of וְתִלְךָ and therefore feminine, and then "tidied up" the construction by inserting ית before אִבָּא and finally a ו before the later ית שֶׁבֶּא to give the smoothest possible reading. Arm, by omitting the object marker before שֶׁפֶּת and inserting it before אִבִּי also seems to follow this approach.

While there is a slight possibility that וְתִלְךָ is an error for וְיִלְךָ I see no compelling reason to alter MT, in spite of a certain clumsiness in the presence of וְתִלְךָ and the lack of a following אֵת .

2. אֵת שׁוּא אִבִּי מַכְבְּנָה וְאִבִּי גִבְעָא . The problem lies in the second אִבִּי .

(a) "Shewa, the father of Macbenah and of Gibe'a", i.e. Macbenah and Gibe'a are brothers. Rudolph¹ regards the second אִבִּי as being inserted to avoid having the first אִבִּי relate to two absolutes. NEB, JB, TEV and ARSV(?) take it this way, which seems more satisfactory than (b);

(b) "Shewa, the father of Macbenah; and the (unnamed) father of Gibe'a", i.e. Macbenah and Gibe'a are cousins. If this is correct, technically the second אִבִּי should be preceded by וְאֵת . This Rothstein² proceeds to do. Sometimes it is difficult in English to know the full intention of a comma, but AV and RV, in the way they use commas in this verse certainly seem to favour this approach. TC's change of שׁוּא to שֶׁבֶּא may represent an aural error.

3. יִרְבֵּת כָּלֵב עַכְסָה In Jos. 15:13 and 16, we have an Achsah, daughter of Caleb, son of Jephunneh. In I Chr. 2, we are dealing with

1. p. 20

2. p. 31

Caleb, son of Hezron. Are we then dealing with one Caleb or with two?

(a) If there are two Calebs, then:

- (i) each had a daughter called Achsah, or
- (ii) this clause has been interpolated here (or אֶחְסָה has been added to the statement that Caleb had a daughter) under the influence of Jos. 15:16 as suggested by Movers quoted by Keil,¹ or
- (iii) Caleb son of Jephunneh is a descendant of Caleb son of Hezron, and אִשָּׁה here is used in a wide sense to signify a female descendant: this is the view suggested by Keil.²

(b) If there is only one Caleb, we may have certain difficulties, timewise, in reconciling the two passages. Such difficulties, however, do not concern us here. Jewish tradition normally accepted one Caleb³; indeed H. H. Rowley⁴ uses this verse as proof of their identity! Perhaps Curtis⁵ takes the best approach: "The original framers of these genealogies probably sought no explanation of a Caleb ben Hezron and a Caleb ben Jephunneh, but identified the two and gave Achsah as a daughter in each case".

This verse is also missing in PC.

2:50

"These were the sons of Caleb, the son of Hur, the first-born of Ephrathah, Shobal . . . Salma . . . Hareph."

The problem here is to reconcile this statement with 2:19 where Hur is son of Caleb:

1. p. 72

2. p. 73

3. e.g. EJ, 5, col. 41.

4. Dictionary of Bible Personal Names, (1967), p. 34.

5. p. 97

2:19

Caleb = Ephrath
 |
 Hur
 |
 Uri
 |
 Bezalel

2:50

Ephrath
 |
 Hur
 |
 Caleb
 |
 Sh. Sa. Ha.

(a) A slight change in punctuation in 2:50 may go a long way towards solving the problem. If the full stop is inserted after 'Caleb' (2:50) instead of after 'Achsah' (2:49), and the clause "These were the sons of Caleb" treated as a summary of what has gone before in 2:42-9 instead of as an introduction to the verses that follow, the question of reconciliation with 2:19 does not arise. We see a similar phenomenon in 2:33b, where the clause אלה היו בני ירחמאל is a summary of the details given in 2:25-33a.

(b) But this solution leads straight to the next problem. The new paragraph now begins בן חור when in fact three sons of Hur are named. This difficulty is not insuperable, as a copyist glancing ahead, because of the rather long appendage "father of Qiryath-Jearim" may have thought there was only one son and changed the בני of his Vorlage to בן.

LXX, Arm, Vg seem to adopt both these solutions, as do many commentators, e.g. Curtis,¹ Rothstein,² Myers,³ Rudolph,⁴ and some of the modern English Versions, e.g. ARSV.

Keil⁵ takes the summary as pointing forward but he regards בן חור as not in apposition to Caleb but as a way of more accurately defining

1. p. 97
 2. p. 33
 3. I, p. 11
 4. p. 20
 5. p. 73

the superscription "These are the sons (descendants) of Caleb". This seems to be too artificial an explanation to win support, but it does seem to be the way in which TEV has dealt with the verse.

Richter, quoted by Rothstein,¹ has a suggestion, which seems to reach the same goal as Keil, but is a much more natural way of approach. Richter reads ן for נ : confusion of labials ן & נ . I find this a much more satisfactory solution because with one minor change and the preservation of the MT as it stands, very good sense is made of the verse. "These were the sons (descendants) of Caleb from Hur, the first born of Ephrath: Shobal . . .".

TC follows MT exactly. MS C seems to understand the verse as does MT, which would almost indicate that either he saw no contradiction between 2:19 and 2:50, or he understood the verse in the way suggested by Keil! Le Déaut's edition gives no punctuation but, in his translation he inserts a full stop after Caleb, and thus seems to regard the "These were the sons of Caleb" as a backward-looking summary. Unfortunately, it is difficult to know if the first word of the new paragraph ן is singular or plural as 'Fils' does duty for both!

PC, returning to the text after a three-verse gap, follow MT closely in 2:50a. In 7 a 1, there are no punctuation marks inside the verse, but the other MSS have a pause after Ephrath. PC, then, clearly regards the summary as pointing forward, and because of the lack of punctuation after Caleb, PC would seem to make Caleb Hur's son.

But in 2:50b PC follows its own pattern: Shobal is no longer the father (or founder) of Qiryath Jearim, he is born in it ן

1. p. 33

"אלהם; חסד" (and the same principle is applied when dealing with his brothers in the next verse). The only possible textual ground for this aberration was that originally a scribe read the ב of אבי as "in" and then supplied אלהם, but a much more realistic approach is to assume that the translator knows that Qiryath-Jearim was, or became a town, and treats it as such.

TARGUMIC EXPANSION

רבהון דא'] אבי קרית יערים

This change of אבי into רבהון has already been seen earlier, e.g. in 2:24.

TARGUM and PESHITTA

As already pointed out TC follows MT very closely, as does PC in 2:50a; the change in PC in 2:50b, however it may be accounted for, does not show any signs of influence from TC.

2:51

This verse names two more sons of Hur: Salma, father of Bethlehem, and Hareph, father of Beth Gader. Below are listed the readings of MT and the various Versions.

MT	שלמא אבי בית לחם	חרך אבי בית גדר
TC	שלמא רבהון דבית לחם	רבהון דבית גדר
PC 7 a 1	שלמא אבי בית לחם	אלהם; חסד
LXX B	Σαλωμων πατηρ Βαιθα, Ααρμων πατηρ Βαιθαλαεμ, Αρειμ...	
LXX A	σαλωμων πατηρ Βαιθαλαμμων	πατηρ Βεθλεεμ αρει...
Arm	ܣܠܡܐ ܥܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ	ܚܪܟܐ ܥܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܓܕܪ
Vg	Salma pater Bethleem, Aripp pater Bethgader.	

Three things are to be especially noted:

1. LXX's strange rendering where "father of Bethlehem" is largely repeated. L. C. Allen¹ sees the first form $\beta\alpha\iota\theta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\mu\omega\nu$ as coming into the text under the influence of the preceding $\Sigma\alpha\lambda\omega\mu\omega\nu$, the next form $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho\ \beta\alpha\iota\theta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\mu$ being an attempt to correct it. I would alter this a little and suggest that with $\Sigma\alpha\lambda\omega\mu\omega\nu$ $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho\ \beta\alpha\iota\theta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\mu$ before him, the copyist's eye - as he finished the last word - caught sight of the last syllable - $\mu\omega\nu$ of $\Sigma\alpha\lambda\omega\mu\omega\nu$; this syllable he added to $\beta\alpha\iota\theta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\mu(\mu\omega\nu)$. Unaware of his mistake he proceeded, this time correctly, with the transcription (for the second time!) of $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho\ \beta\alpha\iota\theta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\mu$.
2. In a case where LXX deviates so much from MT, one can see clearly, in its following the LXX deviation word for word and (looking at A) almost letter for letter, how heavily Arm is relying on LXX.
3. In PC, as in 2:50, the name of the son becomes the birth-place of the father; in 2:51a, the word for 'in', ב , is omitted, probably because ב is also the first letter in the name of the town בֵּית לֵחֵם ; in 2:51b, the ב of בֵּית has shrunk to ב , but הָרֵן has disappeared entirely in PC. In 7 a 1 the ה of $\text{הַיְי$ has become linked to the preceding word, giving הַיְי . The reading הַיְי (הַיְי) in the other MSS seems the more original, but it is difficult to discover where הַיְי came from:

(a) it may represent the Hebrew אָבִי , "father of", as in MT.

But against this it should be noted, (i) that הַיְי is not a usual construct form for אָבִי , and in this form could mean only "my father", which would be rather out of place in this context; (ii) that with the

1. I, 154f.

two previous names, Shobal and Salma, the 'לנ of MT is not reproduced as such in Syr. text;

(b) it may indicate a slight LXX influence. According to L. C. Allen¹ חרף may have become Αρεμ through the influence of the end of the word Καρπιθαρεμ in the previous verse; however it came into being, in LXX^{ae.g.} it is Αρει, which may lie behind the Syriac אר.

Even if (b) is granted, the Syriac text is an example of rather bad workmanship from the copyists' point of view: ש לחא for ש לחא is understandable, but the remainder of the verse is most peculiar.

TARGUMIC EXPANSION

After Salma and after Hareph, for אבִי TC substitutes in each case רבהין ר; this has already happened in the previous verse and in 2:24.

TARGUM and PESHITTA

As TC - apart from the slight change in the preceding paragraph - sticks closely to MT, the effect of TC on PC can be discounted, and any difficulties in PC are not attributable to TC.

2:52

The expectation of 2:52a is that, apart from Qiryath Jearim, Shobal had other sons, who are about to be named in 2:52b. But when we reach 2:52b, the sons named are הרִאָה חֲצִי הַמְּנוּחֹת. Commentators and translators, ancient and modern, have been unsure about these three words. LXX fulfilled the expectation of 2:52a by producing from it three names:

1. II, 3.

ΑΙΩ	Εσείρα	Μωναιω	B
Αραα	Εσει	Αμμανιθ	A

Arm reduced this number to two by telescoping the first two names:

שְׁבִילִי שְׁבִילִי.

PC gives 2:52a, contracting שְׁבִילִי to שְׁבִילִי: "And Shebil had sons in Qiryath Nearin", but it then leaps forward to 2:54, omitting of course our difficult words in 2:52b.

TC takes each of the three Hebrew words, gives an Aramaic version, and by adding an introductory subject transforms the uncertain words into a tribute to Shobal and his family.

Vg follows the same pattern as TC, but with a rather more literal translation ends up with an entirely different result: "who saw the half of the rests (resting-places)".

All of which indicates that, however difficult MT of 2:52b may be,

- (a) it was clearly the text used by the Version;
- (b) the Versions did not see any link with - or at least made no attempt to relate this verse to - I Chr. 4:2 where in a list of the sons of Judah we find רֵאִיָּה, son of Shobal, or I Chr. 2:54 where in חֲצִי הַמְּנַחֲתִי we seem to have something very similar to חֲצִי הַמְּנַחֲלוֹת.

Many modern commentators and some translators find a possible answer to the problem in this latter suggestion, e.g. for our three difficult words in 2:52b, Curtis,¹ Rothstein² and Rudolph³ read

וְרֵאִיָּה חֲצִי הַמְּנַחֲתִי, "and Reaiah, the half of the

Manahtites". (cf. NEB "Reaiah and the ancestor of half the Manahehtites").

1. p. 99
2. p. 34
3. p. 20

But even if this suggestion were accepted it is doubtful if it puts us in a better position. Indeed, it raises several other questions: Is "Reaiah" in apposition to "the half of the Manahtites"? How do we relate this to 2:54 where one of the sons of Salma is "half of the Manahtites, the Zorites"? Or was the latter meant to be the other half?

If the נ of הראה were changed to ל we might have a slight easing of the problem: "And there were (other) sons to Shobal, father of Qiryath Jearim, who was in charge of (הַרְיָה) half of the resting-places". But as the reference implied in the last word is obscure, such an emendation would not help matters very much.

TARGUMIC EXPANSION

"And the chief of Qiryath Jearim had sons, the disciples and the priests who were worthy to distribute the offerings."

Curtis¹ found 2:52b, "utterly obscure", but TC obviously regarded it as a challenge to his ingenuity and exegetical skill. He simply took the basic meaning of the root of each of the three words

ראה, חצי and מנחות, and clothed it in Aramaic dress:

ראה חזא : the Passive Participle חזי, חזיא, pointed out, fit for, prepared, worthy.

חצי כלל : to divide, distribute.

המנחות קירבניא : TC has interpreted the word, not as in MT where it is plural of מנוחה resting-place, rest, but as plural of מנחה, gift, offering.

TC then supplied a subject for the sentence, "the priests and the prophets", and made them sons of Shobal, thereby enhancing considerably

1. p. 97.

Shobal's reputation. From TC it is not quite clear if he means:

(a) Shobal's sons were the disciples and priests, who were worthy . . . i.e. they were sons in the normal family sense;

(b) Shobal's sons were the disciples and priests who were worthy . . . , i.e. because the disciples and priests were worthy, they were regarded as his sons.

Two things may be noted here:

(i) if (a) is meant, is there any hint here of a priestly Messiah from the house of Judah?

(ii) in 4:2, where Reaiah, the son of Shobal is mentioned, TC simply follows MT with no expansion.

TARGUM and PESHITTA

As PC omits 2:52b, there is no way of seeing any connection between the two Versions.

2:53

There are several textual peculiarities in this verse:

1. יַעֲרִים קִרְיָת מְשֻׁכָּחֹת] Εμοσφεως πολεις | αειρ LXX B.

In LXX B, מְשֻׁכָּחֹת thus becomes a son of Shobal, linking up with the list in the preceding verse. By rendering קִרְיָת as πολεις

this list of son-names becomes a list of town-names. This latter

change is surprising as in 2:50, 52, יַעֲרִים קִרְיָת remained a proper noun Καριαθιαρειμ . It may be that, having changed

מְשֻׁכָּחֹת into a name, LXX B now found himself in the awkward position

that his next word יַעֲרִים קִרְיָת could only be construed as

a son of Shobal - a fact which he had just stated a few words earlier!

To extricate himself from this difficulty he simply translated קִרְיָת

into πολεις . LXX A also translated מְשֻׁכָּחֹת into a proper

noun, but he extricated himself from the subsequent difficulty by slightly altering the spelling of $\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\theta\iota\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\mu$ to $\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\theta\iota\alpha\epsilon\iota\rho$.

2. The families of Qiryath-Jearim listed in this verse are four in all: "the Ithrites, the Puthites, the Shumathites, the Mishraites", they are otherwise unknown, with the possible exception of the Ithrites - We are told in II Sam. 23:38 and I Chr. 11:40 that two of David's mighty men were "Ithrites", $\text{עִירָא הַיְתָרִי גֵרֵב הַיְתָרִי}$.

Scholars are divided on these last verses. Some want to read הַיְתָרִי e.g. S. R. Driver¹ on II Sam. 23:38: "a family of Qiryath-ye'arim I Chr. 2, 53 - unless indeed we should read הַיְתָרִי . . . of Yattir, in the hill country of Judah . . ." Some feel, e.g. Rudolph in BHS that this reading is supported by LXX B $\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\mu$. Mauchline² on the other hand, on the strength of I Chr. 2:53, feels that the correct reading in II Sam. 23:38 is הַיְתָרִי ! The strange reading for הַיְתָרִי in I Chr. 2:53 LXX B $\alpha\theta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\mu$, L. C. Allen³ regards as the result of an initial confusion, between ר and ר :

$\text{הַיְתָרִי} \rightarrow \alpha\theta\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\mu$ (perhaps originally הַיְתָרִיִּם)
 $\rightarrow \alpha\theta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\mu$. The second α in this reading may in fact predispose one in favour of הַיְתָרִי in I Chr. 2:53 also!

3. In 2:53b, we have an uncertain מֵאֵלָה without any indication as to whether the אֵלָה refers to the word immediately preceding, viz. הַמִּשְׁרָעִי , or to the four groups mentioned in the preceding clause.

The matter is further confused by the note in 4:2 that the Zorathites came from Shobal through Reaiah. The substitution of רֵאִיָּה for

1. Notes, p. 372

2. p. 320f.

3. II, 12.

הָרָאִה¹ in 2:52 would not help either, as 2:53 clearly regards the Zorathites as coming from the line of Qiryath-Jearim. It may be possible to resolve the difficulty by regarding 4:2 as saying that the descendants of Shobal through Reaiah which are listed, settled in and around the town of Zorah, and 2:53 as saying that the descendants of Shobal through Qiryath-Jearim also settled in and around Zorah and as well in and around Eshtaol. All of which may suggest that the אלה refers to the four groups named rather than to the last mentioned.

4. This verse is missing in the Syriac text.

TARGUMIC EXPANSION

"And the families who were dwelling in Qiryath-Jearim, the Levites, the sons of Moses whom Zipporah bore to him, Ithrites, Puthites, and Shumathites and Mishraites. From these went forth the disciples of the prophets of Zorah and Eshtaol."

Here there are three short expansions:

1. "who were dwelling in": the Genitive relationship in MT could apply to Qiryath-Jearim either as a place, or as a person in a real or artificially constructed genealogical list. TC takes it as a place as the Syriac translators did in 2:51, and to put it beyond all doubt that he so regards it, he used the expression "who were dwelling in" instead of "of", and thus locates his families in Qiryath-Jearim.

2. "The Levites, the sons of Moses, whom Zipporah bore to him."

The four Qiryath-Jearim groups now become Levites. As Qiryath-Jearim does not feature in the Old Testament as having any special link with the Levites, we may have to look elsewhere for the origin of this

1. See above, p. 252f.

expansion. This may lie in ה'תר. Leaving aside the suggestion that we should read ה'תרי, the word, if punctuated as in MT, ה'תרי, could have come from י'תר. There is a י'תר mentioned in 2:17, but as Chr. gives him an Ishmaelite pedigree, this would not be the best area in which to find a Levitical connection. Even if we accept the variant in II Sam. 17:25 which TC seems to follow, there are no special Levitical nuances in his family. As Zipporah is specifically mentioned in this expansion it may be that we have to go to her family to find the connection. She was one of the seven daughters of Reuel, otherwise known as Jethro, the priest of Midian. After her marriage to Moses she bore Gershom and Eliezer. (Ex. 2:16-22; 18:1-4.) It may be that TC regards ה'תרי as coming from י'תרו, who provides the cue for the reference to Jethro's daughter, Zipporah, and her relationship to Moses.

This leads on naturally to the "Levites" reference, which presupposes I Chr. 23:14f, where the two sons of Moses, Gershom and Eliezer, are made "honorary Levites".

3. "the disciples of the prophets of Zorah and Eshtaol."

Zorah and Eshtaol are two neighbouring towns in the Shephelah, mentioned together in Jos. 15:33. Samson came from Zorah, and it was at Mahaneh-Dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol (Jud. 13:25) that the Spirit of the Lord began to stir him. It is difficult to see where TC finds the prophetic connection with these two places. Vay. R. VIII. 2. links the two places together in several ways, e.g., that the Holy Spirit enabled Samson "to traverse a distance as long as from Zorah to Ashtaol in one step". But it gives no hint of prophets being associated with the towns. It may be that the prophetic link is to be found in a variant reading in Tg to Jud. 13:25, from a Geniza

fragment¹ where for **רוח גבורא** (which is Tg's rendering for **רוח יהוה**), we have **רוח נבואה**.

TARGUM and PESHITTA

Verse missing in PC.

2:54

Each phrase of this verse produces a series of problems of whose solution the welter of conflicting suggestions put forward by commentators makes one almost despair!

Having finished with Shobal, the Chronicler goes on to give details of the family of his brother Salma.

בני שלמא בית לחם ונטיפתי. Rudolph² wants to insert **אבי** after **שלמא**, the **אבי** having dropped out through haplography. This would bring the expression into line with 2:51. This change, though bringing conformity, is unnecessary, as 2:54, while recapitulating the facts stated in 2:51, is not obliged to cast them in exactly the same mould. Having introduced one alteration, Rudolph is then obliged to go further and delete the **ל** of **ונטיפתי** (cf. LXX B), which change is also unnecessary.

This is Rudolph's approach in BHS, but in his Commentary³ he prefers the suggestion of M. Noth that after 'Bethlehem' in MT there is a gap: "The sons of Salma, father of Bethlehem . . . and the Netophathites etc."

עטרות בית יואב. It is difficult to know whether these words should:

1. SPERBER II, p. 76.

2. p. 22.

3. p. 22.

(a) form one unit: (i) a further son of Salma, as, e.g. in RV, ARSV, JB, or (ii) a place-name, as, e.g. TEV, Rothstein,¹ Curtis,² Keil,³ who regards it as the "name of a place which is mentioned instead of its inhabitants", or:

(b) form two units: as e.g. in NEB, "Ataroth, Beth-Joab", two sons of Salma.

MT points עֲטָרוֹת , as construct, which would make (a) more probable.

Another approach, represented by Vg, takes the first two words as common nouns, "coronae domus Joab"; LXX also gives partial approval to this approach, rendering: Ἀτάρωθ οἰκου Ἰωάβ (Ἰωάβ A), as does Arm אַתָּרוֹת בֵּית יוֹאָב , though Arm gives not the genitive of house as in LXX, but the Nominative, lit., "Ataroth, the house of Job", (cf. (b) above).

וְהַצִּי הַמְנַחֲתִי הַזֶּרַע Vg regards the first two words as common nouns: "et dimidium requietionis (Sarai)", obviously linking הַמְנַחֲתִי with מְנוּחָה (cf. 2:52). As this scarcely makes sense, unless we follow Pseudo-Jerome's⁴ comments on 2:52, 53 that it is the rest of the graves (of the Patriarchs) which is referred to, should we simply translate: "the half of the Manahtites, the Zorites"? If so, is the second phrase in apposition to the first: Rothstein,⁵ Curtis;⁶ or are the two phrases meant to refer to separate groups in the same list, as in e.g. LXX B, JB? However these questions are

1. p. 54

2. p. 98

3. p. 75

4. Col. 1369

5. p. 35

6. p. 98

answered, we are still left with another: Who were the Zorites? -

הַזְרֵעִי ? Are they to be identified with הַזְרֵעִי of 53, e.g. BDB,¹ or are they two completely different words, as in e.g. RV, Zorathites (53), Zorites (54); NEB, Zareathites (53), Zorites (54)? Rudolph² regards the words as identical but on the presupposition of the acceptance of his emendation in 2:52 רֵאִיָּה הָאִי הַמִּנְחָתִי, he feels the groups they refer to are separate, that separation having been indicated by a now lost בְּלִי before הַזְרֵעִי of 2:54 the "non-Zoreatite half of Manachat".

This verse in PC is mutilated, and will be examined at the end of 2:55, where the rather long targumic expansion to both verses will be considered also.

2:55

This verse purports to conclude the line of Salma, listing and naming scribal families who dwelt at Jabez and through Hamath, father of Beth Rechab, linking them with the Kenites. It is difficult to know exactly what the verse means, with little help coming from the Versions which seem to have relied on a text largely similar to that of MT.

יִשְׁבִּי אֶיִשְׁבִּי K is יִמְשִׁכְוִי סַפְרִים יִשְׁבִּי יַעֲבֹץ
(cf. LXX B ΑΙΣΧΡΟΙΣΤΕΣ). If we accept K, we simply have a relative clause without אֲשֶׁר .³ The meaning is much the same in both instances.

The location of יַעֲבֹץ is unknown: this is one of the reasons why Rudolph is sceptical about "scribes" being the best translation

1. p. 864

2. p. 22

3. cf. RUDOLPH, p. 22.

of ספרים . He feels¹ that families of scribes would normally congregate in places where they could be gainfully employed, i.e. at centres where there was plenty of trade and commerce; had such a centre existed, we should have had some awareness of it. Rudolph's last point here would tend to be disproved by the story of the Ras Shamra discoveries, whose existence remained hidden for so long! Following a suggestion made by S. Klein, Rudolph regards ספרים as = אנשי קרית ספר - the Debir of Jud. 1:11f. For ספרים he would therefore read ספרים, and the three following families would then be regarded as families of Qiryath Sepher, who had moved and settled at Jabez. Ehrlich² would regard ספרים as a place name, on the analogy of קרית יערים of 2:52.

In 2:50 in the line of Caleb through Hur, three sons are listed: Shobal, Salma and Hareph. Shobal is dealt with in 2:52-53 and Salma in 2:54. But Hareph is not mentioned. Is it possible that through the identity of two of the letters and the similarity of a third, ספרים is an error for חרף ?

תרעתיים שמעתיים שוכתיים] ARSV "The Tirathites, the Shimeathites, and the Sucathites". cf. RV, NEB, JB, TEV, LXX.

It is perhaps better to leave this translation as it stands than to speculate whether the reference is to otherwise unknown ancestors,³ Tira, Shimea and Suchah, or to place names, e.g. Shema.⁴ The other approach is to regard each name as somehow describing a profession. This Vg does: "canentes atque resonantes et in tabernaculis commorantes";

1. p. 22

2. p. 327

3. KEIL, p. 76

4. KLEIN, quoted in RUDOLPH, p. 25.

while one can see some link between שוכתיים and שִׁכָּה (שִׁכָּה), it is difficult to see how Vg extracted its meaning from the other two words. This approach appeals to Bertheau¹ though he would prefer to see behind תרעתיים "doorkeepers", תרע (Aram) = שער (Heb.). Wellhausen² also favours this, finding "underlying the three names תרעה a technical term for sacred music, שמעה the Halacha or sacred tradition, and שִׁכָּה which he connects . . . with סיכָּה booth. . .".

[המה הַקִּינִים הַבָּאִים מַחֲמַת אֲבִי בֵּית רֹכֵב]

Three names here require comment:

הַקִּינִים is the more usual vocalisation of this word and, assuming that the two words are identical, we are dealing here with a nomadic group, originally non-Israelite, who may have been smiths, whose area of operation was in southern Judah (e.g. I Sam. 27:10) and some of whom settled in towns (I Sam. 30:29). Their main link with Israel was through Hobab, called in Jud. 4:11 (and probably in Jud. 1:16) the father-in-law of Moses, who (in spite of the complications Num. 10:29 introduces in family relationships) in Num. 10:29-32 acted as a guide to the children of Israel in the wilderness, an act of kindness which was not forgotten (I Sam. 15:6).

חַמַּת We know of him only from this verse where he is regarded as the father of בֵּית רֹכֵב. Vg, following a "translate whatever looks translatable" approach in this verse, changes מַחֲמַת to "de calore patris", which is of course a literal translation, חַמַּת being taken as construct from חֶמֶה, heat. As "patris" is

1. p. 25

2. See CURTIS, p. 98.

not in apposition to "calore", Vg clearly did not regard "calore" as a name; but to translate it, as he does, as a common noun, does not give much sense unless we take it as meaning "passion", which would give this translation: "These are the Cinei who came from the passion of the father of the house of Rechab". Vg, to my mind, decided to translate and to let the exegetes worry about the meaning and interpretation. Ps.-Jerome¹ does just this, though he finds the meaning by omission! ". . . de calore patris domus Rechab, id est, de stirpe Rechab"; "stirps" I would take here to mean stock, family, lineage. Vg, then, is not of much assistance.

בֵּית רַכָּב] "The house of Rechab" is normally regarded as a reference to the Rechabites of Jer. 35, who linked Yahwism so closely with an austere nomadic way of life that they felt unable to participate in anything connected with the culture of either the city or the cultivated land. The tradition reported in 2:55b is that through the otherwise unknown Hammath, the Rechabites and the Kenites are linked. In the context of the preceding verses, this implies that some of the Kenites, viz. those connected with the Rechabites, have become incorporated into the line of the Calebite Salma. Though if, in fact, they were living in Jabez, a question-mark would have to be placed against their following the life-style described in Jer. 35. The fact that we hear no more of their particular cultural and theological emphases after the exile may indeed indicate that they had come to terms with the problems involved in a settled way of life (cf. Neh. 3:14).

In this verse, the Versions, in spite of the problems of e.g. Vg, do bear witness to the reliability of MT. But here, and in the

1. Ps. JEROME, Col. 1370.

preceding verse, PC is in rather poor shape. Having disappeared in the middle of 2:52, i.e. after 2:52a, it reappears half-way through 2:54a, giving us this picture of the sons of Shobal:

(2:52a) "And Shebil had sons in Qiryath-Nearim, (2:54a) Ataroth, Jobal, Hezar, (2:55) Saphrim, Nutaphath, Samla, Shemuthim, Shecab, Hema; all these were Shebil's sons in Qiryath-Nearim."

2:54	Ataroth	הַסְּרִי	עַטְרוֹת
	Jobal	יֹבָל	יֹבָל
	Hezar	הֶזָר	חֶזֶר
2:55	Saphrim	סַפְרִים	סַפְרִים
	Nutaphath	נֹטָפָת	נְשׁוּפָתִי
	Samla	סַמְלָא	שַׁלְמָא
	Shemothim	שֶׁמֹּתִים	שֶׁמֹּתִים
	Shecab	שֶׁכָּב	שׁוֹכְתִים(?)
	Hema	הֶמָּא	הֶמָּא or חֶמָּת (Fraenkel, p. 509)

In this list of names,

- (a) some are faithful reproductions of the Hebrew text, e.g.

עַטְרוֹת הַסְּרִי

- (b) two of them נֹטָפָת and סַמְלָא are displaced and are not in the order in which we have them in MT;

- (c) several names in MT have been completely omitted, e.g. תַּרְעָתִים ;

- (d) one common noun in MT, חֶזֶר has become a name הֶזָר .

For some reason - perhaps lack of understanding, carelessness, haste or exhaustion - our copyist selected from these three verses nine words (eight of them names), and as he copied them treated them all as members of the first generation of Shobal's family, thereby quietly by-passing the various problems connected with these three verses!

2:54 TARGUMIC EXPANSION

The sons of Shalma who was/were from Bethlehem, righteous men, whose reputation was as good as balm, for they had removed the guard posts which Jeroboam had set up on the highway, so that the first fruits would not reach Jerusalem. The sons of Shalma were decorating the first-fruits in baskets and bringing them secretly to Jerusalem. They were cutting up trees and making ladders and bringing them up to Jerusalem for the wood-pile in the hearth for the sacrifices. They came from the family of Joab, son of Zeruah. Some of them were priests who divided the surplus of the sacrifices in Jerusalem and the disciples of the prophets who were of Zoreah.

One can see, from even a casual reading of this expansion, that TC has taken the words of MT, or words of similar appearance or sound, and used them in their Aramaic dress as the stepping stones in his narrative. By using the individual Hebrew words in this way, the targumic end-product has nothing whatever to do with MT so far as meaning is concerned. When we look at the finished product, however, one basic question emerges: is the expansion in TC primarily a free creation where the words of MT are used as the foundation and an occasional tradition introduced, or is the Targumist approaching MT with certain specific traditions in his mind and attempting to use the words of MT as a means of putting across his message? As some of the traditions in TC's expansion appear elsewhere an examination of the passages in which they occur may help to answer this question:

1. b. Ta^c an. 30b. Several historical incidents are cited to explain why the fifteenth day of Ab should be regarded as a great commemorative occasion, one of these, quoted by 'Ulla being the removal by Hoshea b. Elah of the guard-posts which Jeroboam, son of Nebat, had set up on the roads to prevent Israel from making pilgrimages to Jerusalem.

יום שביטל הושע בן אלא פרוסדיות שהושיב ירבעם
בן נבט על הדרכים שלא יעלו ישראל לרגל

In b. B. B. 121b, in a similar context, viz. the Fifteenth of Ab, and with similar wording, we find this statement repeated, also attributed to 'Ulla. For a similar link between the Fifteenth of Ab and the removal of Jeroboam's guard-posts by Hoshea, see also y. Ta' an. 69c, though at this point in y. Ta' an., the reason for the setting up of the guard-posts is not given.

Jeroboam's guard-posts are not specifically mentioned in Scripture, but they clearly have their basis in the story in I Ki. 12:25-33, where Jeroboam, attempting to take a firm grip of his northern kingdom, tries to wean his subjects away from their pilgrimage-loyalty to southern Jerusalem by setting up counter-attractions in the north, namely the golden calves of Bethel and Dan, houses on the high places and a new feast day. The statement that Hoshea b. Elah removed the guard-posts would indicate that these existed up to almost the time of the fall of the northern kingdom of which Hoshea was the last king. However unlikely this may be, the biblical stimulus for the statement lies probably,

(a) in the name הושע and its link with 'salvation', though it was a rather unfortunate name to be borne by the king who presided over the demise of the northern kingdom;

(b) in the qualifying addendum to the assessment of Hoshea in II Ki. 17:2, "And he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, yet not as the kings of Israel . . .", the implication being that such a qualification was made to take account of his 'good deed', i.e. his removal of the guard-posts.

2. b. Git. 88a. Here Hoshea's 'good deed' is stressed by Rab, who informs those who are puzzled by the seeming contradiction between the statement 'yet not as the kings of Israel', and the later

comment in II Ki. 17:3ff that Shalmaneser came up against him and put him in prison etc., that it wasn't altogether Hoshea's fault, because, in spite of his having removed the guard-posts the people still did not go up to Jerusalem and as a result the exile was longer.

אמר להו אותן פררסאות שהושיב ירבעם על הדרכים
כדי שלא יעלו ישראל לרגל בא הושע וביטלן

3. b. M. K. 28a. A similar 'good deed', or, on this occasion 'good thing', mentioned in I Ki. 14:13 concerning Abijah, son of Jeroboam, leads to Abijah's receiving the credit for removing the guard-posts. There is a difference of opinion as to what the 'good thing' actually was:

R. Zera suggested שביטל משמרתו ועלה לרגל while R.

Hanina b. Papa felt שביטל פררסאות שהושיב ירבעם
אביו על הדרכים שלא יעלו ישראל לרגל

In the instances quoted above, three things emerge:

- (a) a close similarity of language: indeed, apart from b. Git. 88a, the form of expression in the others is almost identical;
- (b) the setting up of the guard-posts is clearly attributed to Jeroboam and their removal to Hoshea b. Elah or to Abijah b. Jeroboam;
- (c) the verb describing the removal is ביטל which normally has the meaning, 'to abolish, suspend, cancel, undo, neglect'.¹ - in general 'to do away with'.

Elsewhere we find a tradition similar to the above, but with important additions as well as a considerable shift of emphasis:

- 1. m. Ta'an. 4, 5. Here we have the tradition in its simplest form. In listing the nine occasions of the bringing of the Wood-

1. JASTROW, p. 157.

offering with its contributors, the Mishnah tells us that on the Fifteenth of Ab, the wood-offering was brought by certain families

"and the family **וּבְנֵי גִּוְנְבֵי עַל־** **וּבְנֵי קֹזָעֵי קְצִיעוֹת** of the Pestle-smugglers and the family of the Fig-pressers". (Danby's translation.) This rather cryptic remark is amplified in the next reference.

2. t. Ta'an. 4, 7, explains how the nickname **בְּנֵי גִּוְנְבֵי** arose. Apparently, when the occupying power (**מַלְכֵי יוֹן**) had set up **פְּרֻזְמָאוֹת עַל הַדְּרָכִים שֶׁלָּא לַעֲלוֹת לִירוּשָׁלַם כְּדָרֶךְ** **שֶׁהוֹשִׁיב יָרֵבֶעַם בֶּן נֶבֶט פְּרֻזְמָאוֹת עַל הַדְּרָכִים שֶׁלָּא לַעֲלוֹת לְהוֹל** the pious Jew had used all his native wit to outsmart his oppressors in order to fulfil his cultic obligations. He covered the first fruits in his basket with figs, and with basket and pestle prominently carried on his shoulder, he led the guards to believe that he was on his way to make cakes of dried figs in a mortar which lay some distance beyond the guard-post. Safely through the cordon he decorated the first-fruits (**מַעֲטָרָן**) and brought them to Jerusalem.

A similar ruse, this time involving the carrying of a ladder by **בְּנֵי סַלְמַאי הַנְּתוּזָתִי** on the pretence of fetching down some imaginary pigeons from a dove-cote somewhere beyond where the guards were stationed, ensured that the wood-offering reached Jerusalem.

From all this the truth of Prov. 10:7 is confirmed, that the memory of the righteous shall be for a blessing and (with a sidelong thrust at Jeroboam) the name of the wicked shall rot.

3. b. Ta'an. 28a gives an equally full and almost identical account of the incident together with the conclusion. There are certain variations in the wording, e.g. the "occupying power", this time, **פְּרֻזְמָאוֹת עַל הַדְּרָכִים מַלְכוּת הָרָשָׁעָה** had set up

כדרך שהושיב ירבעם בן נבט שלא יעלו ישראל לרגל

The pious Israelite has become plural; after they have got safely past the guards, we have מַעֲטָרָן instead of עִיטְרוֹם בְּסָלִים.

From the above, the following points should be noted:

(a) The fact that the Mishnah can refer to the בְּנֵי גִּזְבִּי עָלֵי without further amplification suggests that the incident in question was well known. This is understandable; the national memory loves and nurtures a story where the cruel oppressor is made to look foolish by the subject people, as many stories in literature and on screen from the Second World War bear witness in recent European history.

(b) The mention of this incident in the Mishnah would put its occurrence quite early, pre 200 A.D.

(c) The Hoshea incident and the בְּנֵי גִּזְבִּי affair are both connected with the Fifteenth of Ab.

(d) In t. Ta'an and b. Ta'an., we see the worshippers acting in accordance with the prescription in the Mishnah, m. Bikk. III, 3, that as they approach Jerusalem עֲטָרוּ אֶת בְּכוֹרֵיהֶם cf. also III, 9.

(e) The speakers see in the incident a parallel (כְּדֶרֶךְ שׁ) to the Jeroboam incident, which is quoted in t. Ta'an. and in b. Ta'an., using phrases we have seen several times in earlier references (though t. Ta'an., as pointed out above, has some variations)
שֶׁלֹא יַעֲלוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל לְרִגְלָא; וְהוֹשִׁיבוּ כְּרוֹזְמוֹת עַל הָרָא.

(f) The ladder-and-the-pigeons incident which is not referred to in the Mishnah, is linked with בְּנֵי סִלְמַאי הַנְּתוּפְתִי, (t. Ta'an. הַנְּתוּצְתִי: thus the reading of Zuckermann). We also have a variant in t. סִלְמַאי הַנְּטוּפְתִי, and in y. Ta'an. IV, 68^b, סִלְמַאי הַנְּתוּפְתִי 28a and in b. Ta'an. סִלְמַי הַנְּתִיצְתִי.

though the Munich MS reads ¹הנִסְכָּתָה סַלְמָאִי possibly because of the similarity between סַלְמָא and סוֹלָם (ladder).

(g) We have a very similar narrative including both ruses, the בְּנֵי סַלְמָאִי and the Prov. 10:7 conclusion, in y. Ta'an, 68b, but here the incident is not compared to the Jeroboam incident: it IS the Jeroboam incident.

With this background we look now in more detail at the TC expansion, where we find the following elements:

1. The extolling of the righteous sons of שַׁלְמָאִי who have acquired a נְטוּפָא - like reputation because they removed Jeroboam's guard-posts רַבְּטִילוֹ פְּרוֹזְרוּאוֹן דְּאוֹתֵיב יִרְבַּעַם בְּאוֹרַחָא דְלֵא יַעֲלוּן בְּכוֹרִיא לִירוּשָׁלַם. "Secretly" (בְּצִנְעָא) they brought the first-fruits to Jerusalem; they also brought ladders for fuel for the sacrifices.

2. These sons of Salma came from the family of Joab, son of Zeruah.

3. Some of them were priests and there was a link with the disciples of the prophets from Zoreah.

The additions here are of interest:

1. The report that the reputation of the sons of Salma was as good as נְטוּפָא is clearly inspired by this word which is the name not only of a place but also of a sweet-smelling substance.²

2. While MT mentions בֵּית יוֹאָב, TC identifies the Joab with the son of Zeruah. As it happens, Joab b. Zeruah is mentioned three times in b. Ta'an. 28a, just after the "smuggling incident" (though

1. JASTROW, p. 898

2. JASTROW, p. 898

not in connection with it). It is doubtful, however, if TC is influenced by this in making his identification: it is more likely that TC felt that only people from the family of someone of the stature of Joab b. Zeruiah, commander-in-chief and symbol of strength and valour, could have acted as removers of Jeroboam's guard-posts.

3. The statement that "some of them were priests" is probably based on the presence of the two words $\text{סֵלִי} (\rightarrow \text{נִצְי})$ and $\text{הַמִּנְחָתִי} (\rightarrow \text{קִירְבָּנִי־א})$, and if anyone is to divide the sacrifices, he ought to be a priest. But this leads to another problem: did TC really want us to regard Joab b. Zeruiah as the ancestor of priests? Joab was related to David, and, according to II Sam. 8:18, David's sons were priests. Even if we could regard II Sam. 8:18 as sound, the link between Joab and the priesthood would be tenuous; when we bear in mind how the Chronicler handled this verse in I Chr. 18:17, the link becomes even more slender.¹ The link with the disciples of Zoreah is found in the mention of Zoreah in MT and in the reference in TC I Chr. 2:53 to "the disciples of the prophets of Zoreah".

The most significant omission in TC is the failure to describe the ruses used to outwit the guards. The only hint of the use of a ruse is in the remark that they brought the first-fruits secretly to Jerusalem. Anyone unaware of the details of t. Ta'an or b. Ta'an 28a would assume that the guard-posts had been removed by force. Whether TC was unaware (or only vaguely aware) of the ruses used, or whether he regarded them as so well known as to make their narration

1. For a full discussion and a suggested emendation of II Sam. 8:18, see G. J. WENHAM, "Were David's Sons Priests?", ZAW 87 (1975), pp. 79-82

unnecessary, is difficult to say.

Before attempting to draw any conclusions, reference should also be made to T. Ruth 4:20, where MT tells us ונחשון הוליר את שלמא ;
 in T. Ruth, this becomes ונחשון אוליר ית סלמא צריקא הוא
 סלמא מביה לחם ונטופה רבטילו פרוראון ראיתב ירבצם
 חייבא על אורחי והואן עוברי אב ובנין יאיון כנטופא

Here the following should be noted:

1. T. Ruth regards Salma as 'righteous' while TC stresses the righteousness of his sons. MS C seems originally to have read צריקא
 Whether the correction, by inserting a ״ between ק and א: קיא, is by a first or a second hand I cannot say. T. Ruth attributes the balm-like reputation to father and sons, where TC attributes it only to the sons.

2. T. Ruth uses נטופה. Both Targums mention it in its Aramaic dress with the 'balm' emphasis. T. Ruth also mentions it earlier הוא סלמא מבית לחם ונטופה. This could mean:

- (a) 'he was Salma, from Bethlehem and from Netophah . . .' i.e. a place name;
- (b) 'he was Salma from Bethlehem, and Netophah . . .' i.e. a person name.

The lack of בנוי in Levine's MS (Cod. Urbinas Ebr. 1.),¹ and its inclusion in other MSS, complicates the matter further. As נטופה could be regarded, from I Chr. 2:54 MT, as a son of Salma, perhaps T. Ruth has three generations in mind, which may be implied in the later statement והואן עוברי אב ובנין יאיון כנטופא.

1. LEVINE, p. 41.

3. As in TC, it is Salma and/or his sons who removed Jeroboam's guard-posts, i.e. Jeroboam's guard-posts are not being regarded in either Targum as an object of comparison.

Where does TC stand in relation to all these traditions?

TC and T. Ruth have each a similar expansion based on סלח and linked with Salma. Salma and Netophah are linked at MT I Chr. 2:54; we find Bethlehem and Netophah closely related in Neh. 7:26. It is difficult here to trace relationships and at the moment it would be best to regard both Targums as sharing in a tradition which had become attached to Salma.

As for TC and the other traditions the relationships are confused. Underlying all the traditions are two stories:

(1) That of the Jeroboam guard-posts and their removal by Hoshea or Abijah.

(2) That of the setting up at a later date of guard-posts by the occupying power and of the ruses adopted by the faithful to get their cultic supplies through the cordons: Figs and pestle; Ladder and pigeons. (The fact that only the former ruse is hinted at in the Mishnah may suggest that the latter was added later.)

We may then presuppose some such pattern as follows:

(a) Originally these two stories were separate;

(b) In the transmission of (2), through the word סלח the 'ladder-pigeon' story is associated with Salma (סלח) and his sons;

(c) In a 'history-repeats-itself' exercise someone compared the blocking of the roads by the authorities to a similar blocking by Jeroboam centuries earlier;

(d) At a later point, (1) and (2) became telescoped, and the sons

of Salma (originally responsible only for the ladder incident) are credited with the removal of Jeroboam's guard-posts. Levine thinks that this telescoping happened in T. Ruth 4:20 because of the omission, perhaps through Haplography, of כדרך in the expression על הדרכים כדרך שהושיב, as in b. Ta'an. 28a.¹ "Whereas the legend actually refers to a later foreign incident of road blocking similar to Jeroboam's, the targum's falsa lectio presents it as the Jeroboam incident itself." The same argument of Levine would apply equally to TC 2:54. Against this argument, however, it should be borne in mind that:

(i) the telescoping of the two stories takes place not only in TC and T. Ruth, but also in y. Ta'an.;

(ii) it is not necessary to presuppose a falsa lectio to explain T. Ruth's statement, for, as we have already seen, the Targumist often overleaps several generations or centuries to bring out his point.

Levine's argument is based on the assumption that behind T. Ruth, (and thus from our point of view, behind TC), lies b. Ta'an. 28a. If we were to replace this by y. Ta'an. 68b we would then have to account for the differing version in b. Ta'an. Let us begin again with the two stories:

(1) The removal of Jeroboam's guard-posts by Hoshea or Abijah;

(2) An incident involving the setting up of road blocks by the occupying power and the stratagems devised by the faithful to outwit the oppressor and neutralise the effect of the road blocks.

In the circumstances of the time it may have been unwise to be too specific in the retelling of (2), so the whole incident was related

1. LEVINE, footnotes 5 and 6 to p. 109.

to Jeroboam using indeed the language of the story of Jeroboam's road blocks, on a 'let him that readeth understand' basis. It is this which is reflected in y. Ta'an. 68b. In a different age, perhaps in a different area, where no danger was involved and life was safer, the story was retold openly, and the occupying power referred to, while the Jeroboam aspect became not the incident itself (as in y. Ta'an) but an object of comparison (t. Ta'an., b. Ta'an).

From the above one thing emerges - that the link between the ladder-ruse and the Salma family is reasonably early. As the Hagio-grapha Targums are usually regarded as later than other Targums and as we tend to think of them as mere vehicles for passing on an inherited tradition, the possibility of the ladder - Salma link being early forces us to ask: is it possible that the traditions we have seen in Ta'an. (t. and y. and b.) had their origin in TC I Chr. 2:54, this being the only place in the Old Testament where the sons of Salma and יִשְׁכָּבֶל occur together? If this were the case, the two starting points would be:

- (a) שלמא → סולם → ladder story;
- (b) עטרון → עטר → first-fruits/figs story.

While this is possible, it does seem a very slender foundation for the expansion in b. Ta'an. Even the somewhat incidental fact of the identification of three groups of contributors in b. Ta'an 28a with the family of Joab b. Zeruah seems to bear this out. If TC I Chr. 2:54 influenced b. Ta'an 28a, it is odd that the identification of the sons of Salma with the family of Joab (found in TC I Chr. 2:54) is not found also in the 'ladder-passage' in b. Ta'an. 28a, where, in the next few lines after the 'ladder-passage', three groups are separately identified with the family of Joab. Nor do we have the 'balm' emphasis,

so prominent in TC I Chr. 2:54 appearing at all in b. Ta'an. Rather, the 'good reputation' is related to Prov. 10:7.

At the risk of some repetition the following seems to me a more likely line of development:

(a) A tradition, sometimes linked with the Fifteenth of Ab, of removal of Jeroboam's guard-posts by Hoshea/Abijah. (b. Ta'an. 30b; b. Giṭ. 88a; b. B. B. 121b; y. Ta'an. 69c; b. M. K. 28a.)

(b) Story of historical incident, commemorated on the Fifteenth of Ab, concerning guard-posts, figs and ladders, is reclothed in language of Jeroboam story and, for political reasons, is related directly to Jeroboam.

(c) The ladder story, through סולם is associated with the Salma (שלמה) family in I Chr. 2:54, and the figs/first-fruits story is, likewise linked with I Chr. 2:54 through the עטרות-עטר connection. (y. Ta'an 68b).

(d) TC, moving forward on the y. Ta'an 68b basis, develops expansion in its own way, e.g. the righteousness of the sons of Salma because of their pious act of bravery, their reputation becoming like balm, לִנְטַפְתִּי, (though this emphasis may have been developed originally by T. Ruth 4:20, linking I Chr. 2:54 and Neh. 7:26), their identification with the family of Joab b. Zeruiah, mention of priests (כֹּהֲנֵי and כֹּהֲנֵי) and prophets from Zoreah (cf. TC I Chr. 2:53), while the "ruse stories" become abbreviated until אֲנִי is all that is left to suggest secrecy and subterfuge.

(e) Meantime the story as outlined in (b) and (c) is retold in another age or area, in circumstances where there is no need to have recourse to the method adopted in (b), and the Jeroboam guard-posts become simply an object of comparison, e.g., t. Ta'an. 4, 7; b. Ta'an 28a.

The fact that the Jeroboam emphasis still exists in TC and in a rather vague form (see (d) above), may indicate that TC predates the Karaite clash. According to Levine¹ the Jeroboam incident was regarded by later Karaites as the beginning of the Rabbanite-Karaite dissension. If TC had been involved in the controversy, one would have expected the story in TC to be much more sharply defined and used in a much more polemical way.

(f) By the time MS V was copied the ladder-link **שלמא - סולם** had been forgotten, as it reads **שלמא**. Sperber's edition, not having any pointing, gives no guidance here, but MS C has **שלמא**.

I Chr. 2:55

TARGUMIC EXPANSION

"And the family of Rehabiah the son of Eliezer, the son of Moses: the disciples of Jabez, i.e. Othniel, the son of Kenaz. He was called 'Jabez', because he established under his own direction an academy for disciples. 'Tirathim' they were called, because their voice when they sang praises, was like a trumpet blast, 'Shimeathim' because they were devoting all their attention to the oral decisions,² 'Suchathim' because they were covered³ with the spirit of prophecy. These are the Shalmaites⁴, the sons of Zipporah, who were enrolled along with the family of the Levites, because they came from the descendants of Moses, the leader of Israel, whose merit was of more value to them than horses and chariots."

For reasons which will emerge in the course of the discussion, the TARGUMIC EXPANSION of I Chr. 4:9, 10 is also given:

4:9 "And Jabez, i.e. Othniel, was more honoured and skilled in the Law than his brothers, and his mother called his name Jabez, saying:

1. p. 109f.

2. Reading **מִסְבָּרִין** with JASTROW, p. 952 and LEVY, II, p. 139.

3. MS C reads **מִיֵּלֵלִין**, but the meaning is not affected.

A. SPERBER reads **מִמְלִילִין**, but the fact that a similar word in I Chr. 4:18 is interpreted also by using the verb **טָלַל** would suggest that **טָלַל** is to be preferred here. cf. also Job. 36:29 and Ps. 27:5.

4. So MS V. **שלמאי** MS C.

'Because I bore him in pain'.

4:10 And Jabez prayed to the God of Israel, saying, 'Oh that Thou wouldst indeed bless me with sons, and enlarge my border with disciples, and that Thy hand would be with me in business, and that Thou wouldst provide for me friends who are like me, so that the evil inclination may not provoke me to anger: and God provided what he had requested."

I Chr. 2:55 is an important verse in Jewish tradition, for it is one of the few places where ספרי appear as a group, where Rechab is mentioned, and where there seems to be a link between Rechabites and Kenites. In Talmud and Midrash, it appears quite often as a vital proof text, often in conjunction with Ju. 1:16 or Jer. 35:18 or Num. 24:21 or I Chr. 4:9f,. showing the connection between Rechabites, Kenites, Jethro, Jabez - always with an underlying emphasis on scribal activity with special reference to the study of Torah and often with an implicit reference to the great role which can be played within Judaism by proselytes.

The expansion in TC I Chr. 2:55 could be regarded as a kind of "junction-box" where many of the traditions connected with the above names meet and intermingle, to give a remarkable piece of biblical exegesis. In form the expansion follows the "stepping-stone" pattern seen in the preceding verse, some of the Hebrew words being neatly exploited and with varying degrees of credibility made to convey the desired meaning.

MT refers to families of scribes living at Jabez, divided into three groups, who were Kenites, linked through Hammath with the Rechabites. In the verse there are seven significant words - two groups of two separated by a block of three:

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. ספרים | 2. יעבץ |
| 3, 4, 5. שוכתים | שמעתיים תרעתיים |
| 6. הקינים | 7. רכב |

An examination of how Jewish expositors have handled these words in relation to I Chr. 2:55 will provide a necessary introduction to TC's approach:

1. ספרים Irrespective of what this word meant at various stages of Old Testament history, for later interpreters it refers especially to those learned in Torah and so skilled in the use of accepted techniques as to bring out its full significance. In many of our traditions it becomes the key word, and strenuous attempts are made to show that the various people mentioned, as well as some other associated people, had been busily engaged in studying Torah and playing a leading part in the decision making of the Sanhedrin.

2. יעבץ Even though its location is unknown¹ there seems little doubt but that in 2:55 MT it is a place-name whether we follow Kethibh or Qere. In 4:9, however, a man called Jabez enters MT abruptly, remains for verse 10 and then disappears entirely from the pages of the Old Testament. Perhaps it is from this mysterious character that Jabez the place received its name.² In Jewish exegesis the traditions which grew up around 4:9f are reciprocally linked with 2:55 and its accompanying traditions - and in the process the Jabez of 2:55 is 'personified'!

In MT 4:9f, three statements are made about Jabez:

- (a) He was more honoured than his brothers;
- (b) his name had boded ill: by transposition of ב and ז, יעבץ

1. See p. 260 above.

2. cf. K B p. 388 "heros loci?"

is linked with **עֲצָב**, pain, his mother commenting as she named him,
 "Because I bore him in pain" - **בְּעֶצֶב** ;

(c) his prayer changed the possibility of pain and sorrow into success and prosperity, "his life became a contradiction of his name".¹

In b. Tem. 16a, we have reference to (b) and (c), though with considerable shift of emphasis, especially in (b). Othniel and Jabez are identified, on what seem somewhat slender linguistic grounds:

שְׁמוֹ עֹתְנִיאל שְׁעָנָאֵל אֵל יַעֲבֹץ שִׁיעָץ וְרִיבֹץ תּוֹרָה בִּישְׂרָאֵל

"His name is Othniel because God answered him, **יַעֲבֹץ** because he advised and spread Torah in Israel." While both the words **יַעֲבֹץ** and **רִיבֹץ** have some euphonic connection with **יַעֲבֹץ**, neither word by itself supplies all the letters of **יַעֲבֹץ** but taken together they fulfil that role. It is not quite clear if the 'God-answered-him', - 'he-advised-etc.' approach is intended as the basis for the identification of Othniel and Jabez. It is more likely that each is regarded as a champion of Torah on other grounds - Jabez and his link with **סְפֵרִים** (2:55), Othniel and his taking **קִרְיַת סֵפֶר** (Jos. 15:15ff; Ju. 1:11ff.) leading to the comment in b. Tem. 16a that he was responsible for restoring many teachings which had become forgotten during the period of mourning for Moses - and the linguistic ploy referred to above is simply a device to link them more closely with each other. This identification almost gives credence to the suggestion of Klein and Rudolph² that **סְפֵרִים** of 2:55 should be **סְפֵרִים**, i.e. the inhabitants of Qiryath Sepher! The benefits of the 'merger' of Othniel and Jabez soon become evident. Othniel is so-called because God

1. KEIL, p. 88.

2. See p. 261 above.

answered him. But how do we know this? b. Tem. 16a finds the answer in the prayer of Jabez in I Chr. 4:9f, which has its climax in "And God granted what he had asked". Here the prayer is not only quoted - it is also expounded. We do not need to mention all the details of the exposition, but the following points may be noted:

- (i) Within b. Tem. 16a there are in fact two expositions, one attributed to R. Nathan, the other to R. Judah the Prince;
- (ii) R. Nathan's exposition is much more Torah-centred than that of R. Judah which concentrates more on the practicalities of daily living, e.g. "Oh that Thou wouldst indeed bless me,

R. Nathan בתורה

R. Judah בכריה ורביה

and that Thy hand would be with me,"

R. Nathan במשא יבמותן שלא ישתכח תלמודי מלבי R. Judah

- (iii) The same 'double exposition' is found also in Mekilta, Amalek IV, with some slight variants and a different context, viz., in an attempt to show that the Rechabites descended from Jethro 2:55b is quoted, the Kenites are seeking a teacher, Jabez is seeking disciples and the prayer of 4:10 is then dealt with. It is in a somewhat similar context to this, in ARN^a Ch. 35 (Schechter, p. 103) that we get what is perhaps the best summary of Jabez' character as seen through the eyes of Jewish tradition: that he was איש טוב וכשר ואיש "אמת וחסיד ויושב ודורש בתורה שנה" - I Chr. 4:10 is then quoted.

Before leaving Jabez, it is of interest to note the unease felt by at least one expositor as he tries to change Jabez the place into Jabez the person. Ber. R. XCVII regards Jabez as a place - "the inhabitants of Jabez . . . who gave legal rulings in the Great Sanhedrin". But the Mekilta takes us laboriously and uneasily through

the changes involved in making the transformation from place to person: in a reference¹ to I Chr. 2:55, we are told that הלכו וישבו להם אצל יושבי יעבץ. This prompts the question וזכי יושבי יעבץ, and the answer is given היו אלא תלמידיו יעבץ, and I Chr. 2:55 is then quoted in full as proof!

3-5 Block of Three. תרעתיים שמעתיים שוכתיים

MT I Chr. 2:55 now divides the scribal families into three groups, whose titles may have had some significance at one time - a significance which many translators and expositors have since sought to uncover.² Though this verse is quoted often in Talmud and Midrash, only occasionally do we find the more adventurous expositor attempting to explain these three terms:

Ber. R. XCVII, quoted in the preceding paragraph, dealing with Gen. 49:10, refers to the inhabitants of Jabez, the Tirathites, the Shimeathites, and the Sucathites, "who gave legal rulings in the Great Sanhedrin".

The Mekilta, Amalek IV, is a little more expansive:

תרעתיים - שהיו מתריעים ונענים : (תרע > תרועה)
 שמעתיים - ששמעו קול תרועה בסיני : (שמע)
 שוכתיים - על שם שהיו יושבין בסוכות : (סוכה)

While these explanations do remain reasonably close to the terms in question, it is in the next reference that we find an even fuller treatment:

Sifre, Numbers. "בהפ", p. 73.

For תרעתיים there are four explanations given, one of which

1. Mekilta, Amalek IV
 2. see above p. 261f.

corresponds to Mekilta;

For שמעתיים one explanation is given חביתם

For שוכתיים, there are two explanations, one of which corresponds to Mekilta.

These represent various attempts - some of them quite credible, to extract every possible meaning from the biblical text.

6. הקנינים. When the Talmud mentions 'Kenite', one does not usually have to read much further before he comes across the Kenite, Jethro. While many traditions have become attached to Jethro's name, we are most interested in those which centre around Num. 24:21, I Chr. 2:55, Ju. 1:16. We find the following pattern several times,¹ b. Sanh. 106a serving as a typical example:

Starting from Num. 24:21, Balaam expresses surprise that Jethro's descendants are operating in the Sanhedrin. This statement requires the following back-up arguments, stated later in the form of proof texts:

(a) Jethro = the Kenite. Proof Text Num. 24:21

(b) The Kenites are scribes. Proof Text I Chr. 2:55; and Ju. 1:16 is thrown in to strengthen (a) and (b).

The reason for Balaam's surprise is the tradition that Balaam, Job and Jethro were involved in the "exterminate-Israel-plan" in Egypt. And the answer to Balaam's problem is found in the fact that Jethro had fled, the implication being that he wanted no part in the plot, and his reward for this noble action was that his descendants should sit in the Hall of the Hewn Stones.² B. J. Bamberger points out that

1. e.g., b. Sot. 11a, Shem. R. I. 9.

2. b. Sanh. 104a makes a different noble action of Jethro the reason for his descendants' becoming scribes, viz. that he had offered hospitality to Moses, Ex. 2:20.

the occasional attempt to minimise the importance of Jethro is more than counter-balanced by the mass of complimentary references to him in Jewish literature. "The predominant note is the glorification of Jethro, who . . . is the exemplar and ideal of the Jewish proselyte."¹

7. רכב . I Chr. 2:55b seems to suggest a link between Rechabites and Kenites, and expositors exploit this to the full, making the identification of Kenites, Rechabites and disciples of Jabez. This emphasis is strongest in Mekilta and Sifre: e.g. Mekilta, having shown that Jethro's descendants, the Kenites, are disciples of Jabez, and having expounded the meanings of the titles of the three groups of scribes (whether he regards them as three separate groups, or as one group with three different names, is difficult to say, though the latter seems more probable), he takes the last title שוכתי → בשוכתי . . . and links this with באהלים where in Jer. 35:10 the sons of Jonadab, the son of Rechab, dwelt. The fact that in the same verse, and especially in 35:8, we are told how the Rechabites had obeyed Jonadab's instructions (שמע בקול) may indicate a link also with שמעתי . Mekilta does not bring this out, though Sifre refers to it. This obedience now becomes the basis for a discussion on the unconditional nature of the covenant made with Jonadab b. Rechab, and to reinforce the identification of Rechabites with the sons of Jethro, I Chr. 2:55 is quoted, leading to further discussion on Jabez, their becoming his disciples, and finally his prayer.

Sifre also stresses the identification of Jethro's descendants with the Rechabites. His love of Torah is paralleled by the Rechabites' obedience to the commandments of Jonadab, the reward for such obedience

1. B. J. BAMBERGER, Proselytism in the Talmudic Period, (1939), p. 191.

being that some of them became scribes, and I Chr. 2:55 is the proof-text. This obedience and the covenant made with them ensures that

היו יושבים בסנהדרין ומורים בדברי תורה

There seems to be a strong homiletical emphasis in this passage, the suggestion being that because God had honoured the obedience of the Rechabites - of Gentile origin - how much more would He reward Israel when Israel obeys Torah.

In attempting to trace the relationships between these traditions and those reflected in TC I Chr. 2:55 and 4:9f., I propose to work through the targumic expansions to see if any elements in these have specific points of contact with the traditions which have been referred to above.

The following labels are an attempt to grade these relationships:

CR = Close relationship

QCR = Quite a close relationship

CDD = Some contact, but development different

NPC = No point of contact.

(Mekilta refers to Amalek IV and Sifre, Num. to בְּהַעֲלֵה, p. 73)

And the family of Rehabiah, the son of Eliezer, the son of Moses. NPC.

The disciples of Jabez; an academy for disciples.

Mekilta. Kenites sat with disciples of Jabez; Jabez seeking
disciples. QCR.

Sifre Num. They came to Jabez, to learn the faith of the
Torah. QCR.

ARN^a. Ch.35 They were going to Jabez to study Torah with him. QCR.

(No mention of TC's תַּרְבִּיץ in any of the above.)

Jabez, i.e. Othniel.

b. Tem. 16a; Qoh. R. I 581.

CR.

He was called Jabez, because he established under his own direction
an academy for disciples.

b. Tem. 16a יעץ . . . ריבץ

CR.

תַּרְעוּתִים they were called, because their voice when they sang praises, was like a trumpet blast.

Mekilta. . . . sounded trumpet and were answered.

CDD.

Sifre, Num. as Mekilta, with further trumpet reference.

CDD.

The point of contact is תַּרְעוּצָה, but the replacement of

תַּרְעוּצָה in TC by the Aramaic יַרְבָּא, while retaining the 'meaning link' has caused the 'appearance link' to disappear.

שִׁמְעוּתִים, because they were devoting all their attention to the oral decisions (שִׁמְעוּ תוֹתָא)

Mekilta. - heard sound of trumpet

CDD.

Sifre, Num. - heard commandments of father

CDD.

The point of contact is שִׁמְעוּ .

שׁוֹכְתִים, because they were covered with the spirit of prophecy.

Mekilta. - dwellers in booths

CDD.

Sifre, Num. - dwellers in booths

CDD.

The point of contact is ¹ סִכַּךְ - סוּכָה - שׁוֹכָה,

but as with סִכַּךְ - סוּכָה, the replacement of תַּרְעוּצָה by the Aramaic טַלְל in TC, while retaining the 'meaning link', has caused the 'appearance link' to disappear.

These are the Shalmaites, the sons of Zipporah, who were enrolled along with the family of the Levites, because they came from the descendants of Moses, the leader of Israel, whose merit was of more value to them than horses and chariots.

NPC: →

1. JASTROW, p. 990, draws attention to a similar approach in Tanh. Vayakh. 8, where שׁוֹכְתִים is explained using II סִכַּךְ to enlighten שׁוֹכְתִים כִּי בְרוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ.

————→ EXCEPT FOR רכב - chariots.

Mekilta. - person-name CDD.

Sifre, Num. - person-name CDD.

The point of contact is the word רכב which as רכב = chariots, as רכב = Rechab.

4:9

And Jabez, i.e. Othniel.

b. Tem. 16a; Qoh. R. I. 581. cf. TC I Chr. 2:55; 4:13; CR.

. . . and skilled in the Law.

b. Tem. 16a. Jabez fostered Torah QCR.

Mekilta. - those sitting before Jabez, etc. QCR.

Sifre, Num. - They went to Jabez . . . to learn the faith of Torah. QCR.

4:10

(bless me) with sons

b. Tem. 16a. - 'by multiplying and increasing' (R. Judah) QCR.

Mekilta. - 'by multiplying and increasing' (R. Judah) QCR.

(enlarge my border) with disciples

b. Tem. 16a. - 'with disciples' (R. Nathan) CR.

Mekilta. - 'with disciples' (R. Nathan) CR.

(thy hand with me) in business

b. Tem. 16a. - 'in business' (R. Judah) CR.

Mekilta. - 'in business' (R. Judah) CR.

(provide) for me friends who are like me.

b. Tem. 16a. - (may meet) me friends like me (R. Nathan) CR.

Mekilta. - (provide) for me friends like me (R. Nathan) CR.

so that the evil inclination may not provoke me to anger

b. Tem. 16a. - 'so that the evil inclination may not have
power over me so as to prevent me from
studying . . . ' (R. Nathan) CDD.

Mekilta. - 'so that the evil inclination may not
cause me pain to prevent me from
studying thy Torah.' (R. Nathan) CDD.

The point of contact here seems to be רעה (MT), which, in
previous expansion becomes רעים (b. Tem. and Mekilta) and חברים
(TC), but here is used again and this time, in all three, refers to
the same thing יצר הרע (b. Tem. and Mekilta) and יצרא בישא
(TC); the former group develop it in the sense of 'preventing' from
studying, the latter 'provoking to anger'!

Taking an overall view of the above break-down of TC and the
related traditions, one thing emerges quite clearly: that hovering
around TC are three areas of tradition, b. Tem. 16a, Mekilta Amalek IV,
and Sifre Numbers /בהע, p. 73. Yet at no point can we say that TC
has taken over in toto any of the traditions listed. At times we are
very conscious of their proximity to our text, at times they seem to
be exercising an influence from afar, if at all. The following seems
a reasonable classification of the break-down of the elements listed
above:

1. Some elements in TC have relationships - more or less close -
to various traditions, e.g. Jabez = Othniel: b. Tem. and Qoh. R.; the
disciples of Jabez: Mekilta and Sifre; the clauses in Jabez' prayer:
b. Tem. and Mekilta, though here inconsistencies appear - some of the
clauses follow R. Nathan's exposition, others are nearer to R. Judah's.

2. Some elements in TC have a clear point of contact with the other traditions, but the development proceeds in an entirely different way, e.g. in the final clause of the prayer of Jabez, the 'evil inclination' is present in each case, but its mode of operation is interpreted in two different ways in TC and in b. Tem./Mekilta.

Or שמעו : שמע is the point of contact, but in the development this becomes, in TC שמעו , in Mekilta 'to hear the trumpet', and in Sifre 'to hear commandments'.

3. Some elements in TC have no point of contact with any of the traditions mentioned. There are two of these, one at the beginning of 2:55, the other at the end.

Instead of MT's למשפחת ספרים TC has: And the family of Rehabiah, the son of Eliezer, the son of Moses. Instead of MT's 2:55b,

הטה הקינים הבאים מחמת אבי רכב , TC has: These are the Shalmaites, the sons of Zipporah, who were enrolled along with the family of the Levites because they came from the descendants of Moses, the leader of Israel, whose merit was of more value to them than horses and chariots.

It could be argued that רכב (which has become 'chariots' in TC) is a point of contact with some of the traditions,¹ but the development is so different that I am disregarding it as a real link.

Certain things follow from a consideration of these two passages:

(a) the Kenites (and with them Jethro and his descendants) and the Rechabites, all of whom have played a major role in some of the traditions considered earlier, disappear entirely from TC;

(b) both passages have a strong Mosaic reference: Rehabiah is

1. See p. 286f.

Moses' grandson; the Shalmaites are brought into the Mosaic family;

Moses' merit is valued very highly;

(c) both passages have contacts elsewhere in MT Chr. and in TC: Rehabiah is found in the Old Testament only in Chr; the Shalmaites have been highly commended in TC 2:54, and now, through Zipporah, like the Kiryath-Jearim groups of 2:53 they are taken into the Mosaic family and become part of the Levitical structure;

(d) One factor which appears in the second passage and is found elsewhere in TC, requires special mention - the merit of Moses.

A look at three verses in TC will help to illuminate this idea:

2:55 משה... דטב להון זכותיה מפרשין וארתיכין

4:18: in an expansion which lists some of Moses' mighty acts through the interpretation of various titles, we are told that he was called רבא דסוכו דטליל עלבית ישראל בזכותיה

23:17: MT tells us that Eliezer had only one son, Rehabiah, but that Rehabiah had very many. TC tells us why: ובגין זכותיה

דמשה רבו בני רחביה וסגיו לעיל מן שתין ריבון

This is not the place to discuss at length the זכות אבות idea in Judaism, except to note that:

(i) it is but natural that a religion which stresses that if a man obeys the commandments he will acquire merit, would in due course make provision for the merit of exceptionally good people to be transferred to others, as S. Schechter¹ expresses it, "the merits of whose (the Fathers') righteousness are charged to the account of Israel", or as G. F. Moore² puts it even more succinctly, "... because of the fathers God blessed their descendants";

1. Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology (1909), p. 170.

2. Judaism (1927), I, p. 538.

(ii) a religion which stresses individual responsibility, will not allow a 'merits of the Fathers' idea to take too firm a hold lest the individual feel that he need do nothing himself;

(iii) while in discussions of the זכרות אבות the emphasis is on Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, other worthies also played their part, e.g. TC I Chr. 8:33 refers to Saul's sharing in Ner's merit; b. Ta'an 9a mentions Moses, Aaron and Miriam;

(iv) Moses' merit, in the three TC references listed above, is described in grandiose terms:

4:18 'it covered the house of Israel';

23:17 because of it Rehabiah's sons run into sixty myriads;

2:55 its value to Israel means more than horses and chariots. A somewhat similar expression is found in the departure-of-Elijah story in II Ki. 2:12 and Elisha's comment on it, as given in Targum Jonathan

רבי רטב ליה לישראל בזלותיה מרתכין ומפרשין

His merit has a wider and more individual application. In two cases the beneficiary is Israel as a whole, as in the Elisha comment above and, in not dissimilar terms with reference to Boaz, in T. Ruth 4:21, 'by whose merit' רעל זכרותיה, 'the people of the house of Israel were rescued from their enemies, and because of whose prayers the famine was removed from the land of Israel!'¹ In one case the merit operates for an individual, for Rehabiah - though one is left wondering why it did not work in a similar way for Eliezer!

From all that has been said above about TC I Chr. 2:55 and 4:9, 10, some tentative conclusions begin to emerge:

1. LEVINE'S translation, p. 40.

1. While TC is clearly dependent to some degree on traditions in b. Tem., Mekilta and Sifre, we see him going his own way several times within the framework of these traditions and at several points leaving these traditions behind, especially in 2:55;

2. The most notable feature are the two passages listed under 3 above where he replaces MT with certain elements not found in the traditions listed. These 'replacements' alter completely the thrust of the verse as we find it in MT and as we would expect to find it in TC had the traditions listed been firmly adhered to. Now, in TC, we start with Moses' family and the disciples of Jabez, the Shalmaites are brought within this family and the verse reaches its climax with a glowing tribute to Moses.

3. It may be that these replacements provide us with a useful clue. In some of the traditions looked at earlier which included I Chr. 2:55 as a basic proof-text the major role was played by descendants of Jethro, Kenites, Rechabites, all of whom were equated with the disciples of Jabez and were to be found operating at the nerve-centre of Judaism, the Hall of the Hewn Stones. With this use of I Chr. 2:55 by such traditions it seems natural that at a reasonably early stage such traditions would attach themselves to I Chr. 2:55 and be reflected in its Targum. The fact that such elements are no longer to be found in our version of the Targum may indicate that our Targumist was operating at a time,

(a) when there was a reaction to the 'ecumenical spirit' of an earlier age, and the welcome to proselytes had become somewhat cooler;

(b) when there was a reaction against the piety and loyalty of those who were originally Gentiles being held up before Jews as incentives to greater loyalty (as e.g. in Sifre).

As part of this reaction our Targumist, while still showing the influence of e.g. Mekilta and Sifre, quietly removes from his expansion those worthies of originally Gentile provenance, and replaces them with the most Israelite of the Israelites, Moses, having already ensured at the beginning of the verse that the ספרים had become members of Moses' family.

4. In TC 2:55 there is a reference to their being 'covered/over-shadowed with the spirit of prophecy'. This reference does not appear in either Mekilta or Sifre in their treatment of שוכתים. Following out a suggestion made by W. D. Davies¹ that the Mekilta tends to downgrade the argument from prophecy because of the Christian emphasis on the fulfilment of prophecy in Jesus,² is it possible that our TC is reaching its final form at a time when this controversy had lost its relevance and our Targumist thought that it was time to rehabilitate 'prophecy' and inserted מ טללין ברוח נבואה, but, to ensure that a proper perspective was being maintained, inserted the expression in a thoroughly Mosaic context?

5. With the mention of traditions attributed to R. Judah the Prince, with Mekilta and Sifre in the background, but far enough in the background to allow for considerable development to have taken place, is it possible to give any area of dating for the TC expansions. The tantalising problem with so many Jewish traditional works is that though they may be late, they contain early material. J. Bowker³ makes a similar statement about Mekilta. "It is one of the earliest midrashim to have survived, and although it has undergone subsequent revision

1. The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount (1964), p. 42.

2. See Mekilta, Shirata III.

3. p. 70.

and expansion it belongs basically to the Tannaitic period."

B. Z. Wacholder,¹ however, prefers to place the work at the beginning of the eighth century. "The halakah, the sources, the names of the authorities, the technical vocabulary, the tendency towards abstractions . . . all point in the same direction - that the Mekilta is a post-talmudic work."² The author used the Mishnah, the Talmuds and the Tosefta, introducing well-known names for prestige purposes and inventing some others to produce a 'tannaitic' midrash. Though he does not make a thorough examination of Sifre, Num, he implies³ that there may be problems here too! Even if Wacholder is proved correct, the dating of TC would not be affected unduly, as there is still a 'close relationship' with b. Tem. 16a - but the support of Mekilta and Sifre would have been welcomed! If, with Wacholder's dating, there is a dependence by TC on Mekilta, this would place TC more and more in a period where we would expect some references to Moslem rule. Leaving the date question open, one can still state that TC's expansions appeared at a time when it was felt necessary to restate the Jewish origin of the Jewish Faith with Jewish characters in a Jewish setting.

1. "The Date of the Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael" HUCA XXXIX (1968), 117-144.

2. ibid. p. 142.

3. ibid. p. 119.

SURVEY OF I CHR. 2

As in I Chr. 1 we see TC continuing his role as a Targumist, in constant touch with various traditions, e.g. in the Talmuds, Sifre Num., Ps Jon, which he uses in various ways to illumine his biblical text: e.g. in 2:17, he follows the Jether the Israelite approach and treatment as in b. Yeb. 76b and 77a, whereas in 2:54 the guard-posts incident is more in line with the approach taken in y Ta'an 68b. Sometimes his contacts with Ps Jon suggest that TC is going a little bit further than Ps Jon, e.g. 2:3 in Ps Jon's treatment of Er and Onan, that they are guilty of the same sin, unnatural intercourse, is hinted at, but in TC this becomes explicit, which may show the influence on TC of both b. Yeb. 34b and Ps Jon. We see a similar note in 2:18: in b. Shab. 77b and 99a there is some doubt about the significance of על in the matter of spinning goats' hair על their bodies. TC puts the issue beyond doubt by adding כדלא גזין. In the same verse we see TC going his own way in making Azubah a spinner.

Some expansions in TC are of great length, e.g. 2:17, 18, 54, 55, some are very short, e.g. 2:19 Miriam who is called Ephrath. In this last expansion we see a technique which was used implicitly in 1:21, being used more fully here, that of identifying two persons, leading inevitably to a transfer of the qualities of the one to the other.

Occasionally one is aware of a textual contact between TC and PC, e.g. 2:18 סלב; וכלב אוליר מן עזובה איותתיה but it is difficult to find any contact between TC's exegetical background and PC.

Once or twice in PC we seem to have influence from the Sam. tradition. 2:13 שמעא becomes שם: I Sam. 16:9; 17:13 has שמה; or 2:15 the tradition of the eight sons of Jesse: I Sam. 16:10f; 17:12.

One disturbing feature is a deterioration in PC's text. In general it is close to MT, but occasionally a key word is missing whether by accident or design, e.g. הִשְׁמַעְלִי in 2:17, several isolated verses have disappeared e.g. 2:23, and towards the end of the chapter the text presents a very ragged appearance, with verses missing wholly or partially. Whether this is the translator's fault or that of later copyists is unknown.

CHAPTER THREE

I CHRONICLES CHAPTER THREE: THE DESCENDANTS OF DAVID

I Chr. 3 concentrates on the descendants of David, extending right through to post-exilic times. We have here mainly lists of names, many well-known, some otherwise completely unknown. Some of the lists have parallels in Sam. and elsewhere in Chr.

It is the purpose of this chapter to examine the treatment of these names in the Versions, paying special attention to TC and PC, with constant reference to the parallel passages where these are available. Targumic Expansions will also be examined, in an attempt to discover if any of their exegetical emphases have influenced PC in his handling of the text.

In an effort to achieve some consistency of treatment, most of the verses - especially in the earlier part of the chapter - will be dealt with under four heads:

1. General Comments: these refer primarily to the verse in its MT setting and its relationship to a parallel verse, if available.
2. TARGUMIC EXPANSION
3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT, leading to an examination of these variants and their origin.
4. Conclusions

3:1-9

DAVID'S CHILDREN

3:1

1. General Comments

This verse has its parallel in II Sam. 3:2, 3a. Apart from minor variants the main difference between the two passages is that in Chr.,

David's second son is דָּנִיֵּאל whereas in Sam. he is כְּלָאֵב.

Are we then dealing with:

- (a) two men;
- (b) one man with one name which, through the vagaries of textual transmission has become two names;
- (c) one man with two names?

As the order of the words in II Sam. 3:3a is כְּלָאֵב לִאֲבִיגַי, S. R. Driver¹ sees the possibility of dittography, though it is not quite clear how the acceptance of this suggestion would help solve the problem. Rudolph² regards the fact that לֵאֵב follows כְּלָאֵב as coincidental.

Curtis³ starts from an original כְּלָאֵב which became רִלְאֵה (cf. LXX A Δαλουαια) which became דָּנִיֵּאל, but this seems a rather tortuous route to have to follow.

The 'one man two names' suggestion is made by Keil⁴ and, in a slightly different form by Rudolph.⁵ The latter thinks that his true name was Daniel, Cilab - which has nothing to do with Caleb - being a complimentary nickname, meaning 'like father, like son', or 'just like his father' (literally: 'all father', 'completely his father'), a suggestion already worked out in TC.

2. TARGUMIC EXPANSION

"Daniel, i.e. Cilab, who completely resembled his own father."

הוא כְּלָאֵב דְּדָמִי⁶ כּוֹלִיהּ לֵאבָא דִּי לֵיהּ

1. Notes, p. 246.

2. p. 27.

3. p. 100.

4. p. 77.

5. p. 27.

6. MS C reads דְּדָמִי but the general sense is not affected.

The following points should be noted:

- (a) TS, at this point follows its MT quite closely; it is only in TC that this expansion is found.
- (b) There is a firm point of contact with the Sam. tradition which has Cilab but not Daniel.
- (c) TC's method is, as Rudolph brings out, to split **כלאב** into two parts, **כל** and **אב** 'all father', and thus to stress that Cilab was his father's son, that the resemblance between son and father was total.
- (d) Cilab receives attention elsewhere in Jewish tradition, b. Ber. 4a, but the treatment depends on a much more tenuous linguistic connection than in TC, viz. **כלאב** and **כלם**, Hiph. to put to shame, affront, rebuke. Mephibosheth had often put David to shame in matters concerning halakhah. David's son **כלאב** is so called because he redressed the balance **שהיה מכלים פני מפיבשת בהלכה**. Though the connection is not very strong, two points of special interest emerge in b. Ber.:
- (i) Cilab is explicitly named as David's son: **ויצא ממנו כלאב**.
- (ii) The name Daniel is also mentioned - indeed Daniel is regarded as his real name, Cilab being the name he acquired.
- (e) A closer look at (d)(i), where it is stated clearly that Cilab was David's son, may help to make clearer the reason for the TC expansion. There may have been some suggestion that the child was not David's, Abigail having conceived already from Nabal before she met David. TC is affirming that Cilab is so like his father that there could be no doubt whatever as to parenthood. That such was the motive of TC here is strengthened by a remark by le Déaut¹ which draws

1. I, p. 46, footnote 1.

attention to a similar statement in Ps. Jon. to Gen. 21:2 where Sarah conceived and bore to Abraham a son רַרְמִי לִיה לְסִיבְתִּיו.

The background to this may be found in b. B. M. 87a, where, after the birth of Isaac, doubts are expressed about Isaac's being a son of Abraham on the ground that a one hundred year old man couldn't possibly father a son. The doubts are soon dispelled: מִיר נֶהֱכַךְ קָלְסֶתָר:

כָּנִים שֶׁל־חָק וְנִרְמָה לְאַבְרָהָם, and everyone cried out:

אֲבָרָהָם הוֹלִיד אֶת יִצְחָק. This matter is discussed similarly in Midrash Hag-gadol¹ where the connecting link is זָקוּנִים/אִיקוּנִים,

but the conclusion is the same as in b. B. M. A similar resemblance based also on זָקוּנִים/אִיקוּנִים is mentioned in Ber. R. LXXXIV. 6 between Jacob and Joseph. This suggestion may be strengthened further by what seems to be an indirect reference to Nabal's character: that there was absolutely no question of Cilab's not being David's son, for had he been Nabal's, his (i.e. Nabal's) character would have shone through - stupid and churlish. Or, to put it otherwise, the very fact that Cilab was not stupid and churlish was added proof that he was David's son. If this is the thrust of TC's expansion, that those who were stated to be the sons of David were indeed just that, one is left wondering why it was necessary to bring this out in the case of Daniel/Cilab, of whom the Old Testament tells us nothing further. Perhaps it is inherent in Jewish exegesis that an expositor, faced with the fact that a man had another name, regarded it as his duty to bring out the reason for this other name, and we have two examples of this, one in b. Ber. and the other, a rather better effort, in TC.

1. S. SCHECHTER, Midrash Hag-gadol, (1902) I, 304.

As a tail piece, it should be emphasised that though TC is clearly influenced by the Sam. tradition, there is no hint of any specific influence from TS.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT.

(a) $\text{PC } \text{לֵךְ חֲתָנָא דְּסַמְּרָא} \text{]וְאֵלֶּה הָיוּ בְּנֵי דְּוִיר אֲשֶׁר נִוְלַר לֵךְ}$

This rephrasing is peculiar to PC; Fraenkel remarks¹ that לֵךְ and לֵךְ come from PS II Sam. 3:5. Had these individual borrowed words been unusual loan-words or words of unusual significance, Fraenkel's remark would be more credible. But these are very common words and Fraenkel's argument would be cogent only if he were to go on to explain why PC should have omitted the אֵלֶּה of the same Sam. verse, especially when he had a נִוְלַר in his Hebrew text (and a corresponding word in all the Versions). Is it not just as likely that PC, seeing a somewhat clumsy sentence before him, abbreviates it - albeit in a not very elegant way?

(b) $\text{PC } \text{מִלָּא} \text{ , בְּנֵי חֲמֵיִס]הַבְּכוֹר}$

Peculiar to PC: rather wordy.

(c) $\text{PC = TC and TS. } \text{מִלָּא} \text{ : אֵלֶּה]הִיזְרַעְתִּי}$

$\text{PC (less 7 a 1) = TC and TS (though both of these lack } \text{מִלָּא} \text{) . 7 a 1's } \text{מִלָּא}$ for מִלָּא is clearly a scribal error.

PC's use of this מִלָּא technique is found also in TC and TS, but not in PS which is as MT. PC also adds his own extra word מִלָּא .

(d) $\text{PC = PS. } \text{מִלָּא} \text{]אֲחִינוֹן}$

(e) $\text{לב } \text{]דְּנִיֵּאל} = \text{PS (cf. TC } \text{כִּלְאֵב} \text{) .}$

לב in PC could be from TC's כִּלְאֵב , but this is most unlikely,

1. p. 509.

as **כלב** is found in PS. The existence of **כלב** may presuppose dictation as it is difficult to see how **ר** could fall out of the text. But even if this were the case, in this instance it would apply only to PS but not necessarily to PC.

(f) **אֲבִיגַיִל**] add **וְכָל, אֲחֵיהֶם** PC; as in the Sam. tradition. Here PC = PS.

4. Conclusions

(a) There is a strong influence, in three areas, from PS, but this influence is not total, for, e.g. in one significant area (use of gentilic adjectives) PC does not follow PS;

(b) There is a hint of influence from TC (in use of gentilic adjectives); but as TC here agrees with TS, the strength of the influence is correspondingly reduced;

(c) PC goes his own way in three instances;

(d) When PC goes his own way, he is sometimes rather wordy, though once he abbreviates!

3:2

1. General Comments

This verse has its parallel in II Sam. 3:3b, 4a.

2. TARGUMIC EXPANSION -

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(a) **לְאַבְשָׁלִים**] **אֲבֵלִים** PC.

PC's omission of **ל** before **אֲבֵלִים** is not significant, because we find the same omission in many Hebrew MSS¹, in TC, in the other

1. DE ROSSI, p. 171.

Versions and in the Sam. tradition. The insertion of ל possibly arose in I Chr. 3:2 MT, because in the two previous instances, immediately after the name of the son came ל prefixed to the name of the mother; at this point the scribe must have been not only influenced by two previous instances of ל + mother's name, but also copying mechanically in that he failed to notice that אבשלום was not a usual name for a mother.

(b) לתלמי לח PC MSS. לח PC Edd.

As the form לח is found also in PS II Sam. 3:3b, a connection between PC and PS may be indicated, but it has to be borne in mind that LXX A has θολμει , Vg. THOLMEI, Arm. ܬܠܡܝܬܐ , Syr. Hex. ܬܠܡܝܬܐ (MS n ܬܠܡܝܬܐ). If the LXX emphasis is in due course seen to play no part in PC, the case for some influence from PS would be strengthened.

4. Conclusions

(a) As TC (apart from omission of ל) follows MT closely, and as PC has only one other variant from MT, there is clearly no evidence of influence on PC from TC;

(b) There may be a possibility of influence from PS in לח . But it should also be noted that where the Sam. tradition prefixes a ל to its two ordinal numbers, PC does not follow suit.

3:3

1. General Comments

This verse has its parallel in II Sam. 3:4b, 5a. There are two clear differences of wording in these passages in MT:

<u>Chr.</u>	לאביטל	<u>Sam.</u>	בן אביטל
	אשתו		אשת דויד

The basic problem in both passages is: in that all the women

mentioned in the preceding verses are wives of David, why should Eglah be singled out as **אשת דוד / אשתו** ?

H. W. Hertzberg¹ thinks it was because Eglah was his favourite wife.

S. R. Driver² sees in **אשת דוד** a parallel to Abigail, the name of whose former husband is given: **אשת נבל הכרמלי** (II Sam. 3:3); he assumes that the name of Eglah's former husband stood originally in the text but that for some reason this was corrupted to **דוד (אשת)**. Chr's **אשתו** would be simply a rewriting of this expression.

H. P. Smith³ suggests in Sam. an original **אחות דוד** - that David had married his half-sister, but that when this practice was later prohibited, **אחות** was changed to **אשת**.

These three suggestions are attractive, but there is no supporting evidence for any of them, and one is therefore obliged either to follow the scarcely more satisfying approach of Bertheau⁴ and Keil⁵ that the expression in either Sam. or Chr. is inserted to round off the series, or to accept Rudolph's⁶ non-committal statement that both expressions are equally striking because unnecessary.

2. TARGUMIC EXPANSION

"... to Eglah his wife, she is Michal, the daughter of Saul."

In the Old Testament Michal is the younger daughter of Saul and becomes David's wife, later saving him from a murder bid by her father. She is married to Palti but, after Saul's death is returned to David

1. I and II Samuel (1960), p. 254.

2. Notes, p. 246.

3. The Books of Samuel, (1912), ICC, p. 274.

4. p. 26.

5. p. 78.

6. p. 24.

from whom she becomes estranged following her rebuke of him for what she regarded as an unseemly dance before the Ark. She died childless and no doubt it is for this reason that she is not mentioned in I Chr. 3:1-9 where the emphasis is on David's children.

Jewish tradition took a kinder view of Michal than did David and saw in her a woman of great beauty, a model of piety and motherly devotion (bringing up other people's children as though they were her own), but punished by God because of her rebuke of David.

The basic biblical stimulus for the identification of Eglah and Michal probably lies in the fact that in our Sam. and Chr. passages Eglah, of all the wives, is singled out for the special appellation of "wife of David" or "his wife". The reasoning here seems to be:

Because Eglah is so singled out she must be his first and favourite wife. But his first wife was Michal. Therefore Eglah = Michal. The identification having been made, expositors don't always agree on the exact 'point of identification' between the two. עגלה is clearly the operative word - either the animal itself or some trait in the animal which has a corresponding trait in Michal, e.g. in b. Sanh. 21a Rab says that Michal was called Eglah שחביבה עלי כעגלה. One assumes that the third masc. sing. suffix refers to David.

Midr. Teh. 59. 4 finds a welcome heifer-like stubbornness in Michal's character: "Because like a heifer that will not take the yoke upon her neck, so Michal did not take the yoke from her father, but bucked against it".

Ber. R. LXXXII. 7 in explaining the link, refers to another verse which had to be interpreted very carefully if Eglah (mother of Ithream) were to be identified with Michal (childless until the day of her

death, II Sam. 6:23). This was done by pointing out that II Sam. 6:23 means that she had a child on the day of her death, i.e. that she died in childbirth. R. Judah: "Because she lowed like a calf and died". The implication from this would be that Ithream was the child thus born.

Ps. Jerome in his comments on II Sam. 3:5¹ in making the identification of Eglah, draws attention to the fact that only here is she referred to as "his wife" and brings out the "heifer" connection. In a less involved comment on I Chr. 3:3² he states simply "Egla interpretatur vitula, quam nonnulli putant Michol filiam Saul". Leaving aside the "putant" this is the approach taken also by TC, "she is Michal, the daughter of Saul".

A. Sperber draws attention to a marginal comment attributed to ספר אחר in Codex Reuchlinianus in Targum Jonathan to II Sam. 3:5, where, instead of לעגלה אתה רויך we have למיכל איתת דוד.

From TC's rather trite statement of the identification, without his giving any of the possible reasons for it, we can say very little more than that he mentions an identification which is amply testified to in Talmud and Midrash.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(a) [שפטיה] למיכל 7 a 1.

The other MSS and Editions have למיכל. למיכל is found also in Syr. Hex. (cf. Σαβατεια LXX B). This variant is not particularly significant as the interchange is between two labials א

1. Col. 1347.
2. Col. 1370.

and ב, the reverse procedure being found in the next variant.

(b) [לאביטל] אפלא PC 7 a 1 6 h 13.

אפלא PC 8 a 1 9 a 1 Edd.

Here MT Sam. has בן אביטל, which in PS becomes אפלא (7 a 1), which has obviously been taken over by PC.

(c) [אשתו] אלהים PC.

MT Sam. has אשת דויר, PS אלהים, clearly borrowed by PC.

4. Conclusions

(a) there is no sign of any influence of TC on PC;

(b) in two cases there is a clear influence of PS on PC, with a very slight inner-Syriac variation in one proper name.

3:4

1. General Comments

The parallel passages to this verse are II Sam. 3:5b and 5:5; in the latter verse it is pointed out that David was king for a time at Hebron over Judah, then at Jerusalem over all Israel and Judah. Chr. speaks of him as reigning in Hebron and Jerusalem for the appropriate times without any mention of the extent of his kingdom.

2. TARGUMIC EXPANSION

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(a) [ששה] אלהים 7 a 1

אלהים 6 h 13 8 a 1 Edd.

אלהים... אלהים 9 a 1.

(b) [לוי] PC

The three rather different ways of saying the same thing in (a) above may represent an attempt at conflation:

I Chr. 3:4 ששה נולד לו and II Sam. 3:5 מלה ילדו לדוד
 ואלה המלה ליהם and ואלה המלה ליהם

though PC makes his own specific contribution by adding חסא / חסא
 giving the final result (as recorded in 7 a 1):

ואלה המלה חסא המלה ליהם (חסא:)

Within the Syriac tradition the second אלה is omitted only
 by 7 a 1. In fact the verse reads better with the omission, but
 whether this was in the mind of 7 a 1 or whether it was a simple error
 cannot be determined.

4. Conclusions

(a) as TC follows MT very closely (except for a 'natural change'
 made by all the Versions from נולד to אתילדו) there is there-
 fore no hint of influence on PC from TC;

(b) there seems to be influence from PS in PC's attempt to
 conflate PS and his own translation, but even in the conflation PC adds
 his own word to make the statement more specific;

(c) the extras in one parallel passage, II Sam. 5:5: חסא: חסא: חסא:
 and חסא: חסא: חסא: are not found in PC. There is
 a theological reason for their non-appearance in MT of Chr. but it is
 doubtful if the translator was aware of this motivation. In that so
 far we have seen several 'extras' from PS being transferred to PC, it
 is surprising that no transfer has taken place here; there may however,
 be a rather mundane reason for this lack of transfer: while the
 parallel verses to I Chr. 3:1-3, 4a are in one compact passage in
 II Sam. 3, the parallel verse to 3:4b is found in a single verse in
 II Sam. 5, of whose existence when he was doing his work our translator
 of PC may not have been aware.

3:5

1. General Comments

In MT I Chr. 3:5-9 we have a list of David's children who were born in Jerusalem. Similar lists appear also in I Chr. 14:4-7 and II Sam. 5:14-16; there are some differences in these lists both in the number and in the form of the names. Our prime concern is to see how PC in I Chr. 3:5-9 handles his remit and to isolate, if possible, any factors which may have influenced his translation.

The parallel passages to I Chr. 3:5 are I Chr. 14:4 and II Sam. 5:14. Each verse opens with an introduction to the section - a short introduction in I Chr. 3:5, and two longer ones, quite similar to each other, in the other verses. II Sam. 5:14 has **וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת הַבָּלָדִים**, I Chr. 14:4 being a little more verbose. Of the four sons listed the only difficult one is **שְׁמֵעָא** (I Chr. 3:5) but **שְׁמוּעָה** (I Chr. 14:4 and II Sam. 5:14). At the end of the verse, I Chr. 3:5 has a clause attributing the four sons to Bath Shua, a statement which is omitted by the other two verses.

2. TARGUMIC EXPANSION

... (לבת שוע) היא בת שבע

"... the four of them to Bath Shua, i.e. Bath Sheba".

In II Sam. 11:13, she is **בַּת שֶׁבַע בַּת אֱלִיעֶזֶר**

In I Chr. 3:5 she has become **בַּת שֹׁעַ בַּת עֲמִיגָל**

The component parts of the last name have changed places, and in the first name a **ב** has become a **ו**. The latter change is best explained, as in Curtis¹ as "... a phonetic variation arising from the similar sound of **ב** bh and **ו** w.". We have similar confusion in I Chr. 2:49

1. p. 99.

where שורא of MT has become שבא in TC. Indeed the pattern in the Versions of I Chr. 3:5 is somewhat confused: LXX B, Vg, Arm all presuppose שבע, while Syr. Hex. has (לכח) ~~שב~~. Whether these represent an original שבע or are simply correction attempts does not really matter. From our point of view TC may have been trying to ensure that the בת שורא in the text before him would not be confused with the בת שורא who had played a considerable part in earlier history and simply added i.e. Bath Sheba.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(a)]ואלה נולדו לו בירושלים

PC ~~ס ס לה עקסו, חתו, אלמס לס חס:מלמ~~

This seems a rather expansive translation of MT, but the identical wording is found also:

in PS II Sam. 5:14 for ואלה שמות הילדים לו בירושלים

and in PC I Chr. 14:4 for ואלה שמות הילדים אשר היו לו בירושלם

PS II Sam. 5:14 is probably the parent version which has been used by the translator of PC to translate both introductory formulae in I Chr. 3:5 and 14:4.

(b)]שמעא ~~שמוע~~ PC.

שמוע is the MT reading in II Sam. 5:14 and I Chr. 14:4. Though the Versions vary at I Chr. 14:4, שמוע being presupposed by LXX A, Vg, TC, שמועא by LXX B and Arm, one thing is clear, that in PC of I Chr. 14:4 and in PS II Sam. 5:14 the reading is ~~שמוע~~. Again, it seems reasonable to assume some influence from PS on both PC texts.

(c)]שירב ~~שירב~~ PC.

This is also the reading of PS II Sam. 5:14 (7 a 1; Edd. read ~~שירב~~) and of I Chr. 14:4, 9 a 1 (?) and Edd.; (6 h 13 has ~~שירב~~, as MT). The influence of PS is again evident.

(d)]ארבעה לכת שוע בת עמיאל[om PC.

This statement is lacking also in MT of I Chr. 14:4 and II Sam. 5:14 and in the corresponding Peshitta text. Some influence from PS can be assumed.

4. Conclusions

(a) there is no sign of any influence from TC on PC;


(b) in the four variants in PC there is strong evidence of influence from PS II Sam. 5:14 or from PC I Chr. 14:4. As each variant was matched by both PS II Sam. 5:14 and PC I Chr. 14:4, one could not say that the influence was clearly from one side or the other. But as some of the earlier verses showed signs of influence from PS, it is reasonable to assume that unless there is some indication that PC I Chr. 14:4 is the dominating factor, PS is still the major influence. This, of course, is but natural if we assume that a translator translated Chapter 3 before Chapter 14.

3:6-8 Parallel passages II Sam. 5:15-16; I Chr. 14:5-7

I Chr. 3:6-8 consist largely of a list of names with no narrative. I shall summarise briefly the results of an examination of these verses and the parallel passages.

1. In PC there is some dislocation, the verse order being 6, 8, 7. Or it may be that אֶל־יִרְדֵּעַ has been taken from 3:8 and inserted at 3:6.

2. PC omits a pair of duplicated names - אֶל־יִכְלָס and אֶל־יִשְׁמַע.

3. In 3:8 תְּשֻׁעָה causes problems: in 6 h 13 and Edd., it becomes a proper name, , but is omitted by 7 a 1, 8 a 1 and 9 a 1.

4. On the whole each of the three passages follows its parent text, apart from PC's omission of the two names in I Chr. 3. The

striking thing about this omission is that these two names are the only two which are duplicated in MT's list; it would seem therefore, that PC seeing this, decided that one set of the duplicates should be dropped. This seems a more likely explanation of their omission than the presupposition of influence from PS. It should be added, however, that when he came to I Chr. 14 he did not follow the same practice, for the one duplicate in that list אלי פלט is reproduced twice!

3:9

1. General Comments

While there is a mention of David's concubines and wives in Jerusalem in II Sam. 5:13, there is no parallel as such to I Chr. 3:9, which tells us that all the children mentioned so far were sons of David, apart from the sons of concubines, and Tamar their sister.

2. TARGUMIC EXPANSION

The only slight change in TC is that כל becomes כולהון.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(a) כל בני דויד PC (כל בני דוד)

9 a 1). The addition of כל is not significant, the translator simply trying to expand the rather curt כל into something more rounded, as in Vg and in several LXX MSS. The כל though agreeing with TC's כולהון is coincidental, as both Aramaic and Syriac often add on the suffix in this way, e.g. ארבעה for ארבעתהון, in 3:5.

(b) מלבר בני פילגשים om PC.

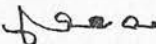

This omission is puzzling; it is unlikely that the translator felt unhappy about attributing to David the possession of concubines, for he states elsewhere that some of the great ones in Israel had concubines -

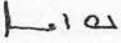
Abraham (1:32), Caleb (2:46) - (cf. also David, II Sam. 5:13). The reason for the omission may be that PC, having been primarily concerned up to this point with a list of names of David's family, saw no point in mentioning the fact of the sons of the concubines when no names were given.

4. Conclusions

- (a) there is no clear sign of influence of TC on PC;
- (b) as the verse is not paralleled exactly in PS, it is difficult to speak of influence from that direction.

3:10-14 THE LINE OF DESCENT FROM SOLOMON TO JOSIAH

In these verses we have a list of kings who ruled over Judah. After Solomon, fifteen names are listed and, from the second king onwards, the pattern is X his son, Y his son, Z his son. This straightforward list is not paralleled anywhere as a list. Possibly because these names were all well known, their reproduction in PC is generally flawless and variants are few and of little consequence; those which do occur are seen generally in words beginning with י" or יה", e.g. יהושפט becomes  in 7 a 1 and Edd.,  in 6 h 13, 8 a 1 and 9 a 1.

In 3:12, we have in TC, MS V only, a small expansion, "Azariah, his son, i.e. Uzziah". MS V is simply noting, for the sake of clarity, the other name by which Azariah was known. The fact that for עזריה, PC reads , need not imply influence from TC for, as in our day, perhaps under the influence of Isa. 6:1, Uzziah may at that time also have been the more familiar name.

In this section, 3:10-14, there is no sign of any external

influences working on PC; we see PC behaving as a normal translator and subject to the translator's/copyist's occupational hazards.

3:15-16 FROM JOSIAH TO JEHOIACHIN

3:15

1. General Problems

John Bright's¹ account of the last days of Judah gives the following picture of the succession of its last kings: Josiah, Jehoahaz (Josiah's second son), Jehoiakim (Josiah's first son), Jehoiachin (Jehoiakim's son), Zedekiah (Josiah's younger son). In Jer. 22:10-12 it seems clear that Jehoahaz has another name, Shallum.

Certain questions emerge when we set these details alongside the list in I Chr. 3:15. Who was Johanan 'the first-born'? Is he to be identified with Jehoahaz as LXX^L has done - $\lambda\omega\alpha\chi\alpha\zeta$? Or, as Keil² and Rudolph³ suggest, was he in fact Josiah's eldest son, of whom we know nothing more because he died before his father? After Josiah's death, Jehoiakim should have come to the throne, but, following Rudolph,⁴ he was pushed aside because of his pro-Egyptian emphasis and Jehoahaz (= Shallum) became king, but was carried off to Egypt after a short reign. Jehoiakim now came to power. If Jehoahaz = Shallum, why is Shallum in I Chr. 3 placed at the end of the list, in that he was older than Zedekiah, and he had been on the throne before either Jehoiakim or Zedekiah?⁵ Unless the Shallum of I Chr. 3 is a

1. A History of Israel² (1974), pp. 323-329.

2. p. 79.

3. pp. 26-28.

4. pp. 26-28.

5. RUDOLPH, pp. 27-28, accepts the order as in I Chr. 3:15, by assuming that Jehoiachin and Johanan had different mothers and that Zedekiah was born between 634 and 632. PS JEROME, col. 1370, commenting on I Chr. 3:15 refers to Shallum as the king whom Necho carried off to Egypt, and he then quotes Jer. 22:11.

son of whom we know nothing more and with no connection with Jehoahaz. But then, did Jeremiah make a mistake in 22:10-12? It is difficult to give a completely satisfying answer to any of these problems; indeed it may be that we are looking for too much tidiness and exactness here. Perhaps the Chronicler was primarily concerned, not to give a list of the last kings of Judah, but to ensure that in his list, from the point of view of the return, certain important names were mentioned, viz. Jeconiah, Shealtiel, Shenazzar and Zerubbabel (3:17-19).

2. TARGUMIC EXPANSION

"Shallum, in whose days the kingdom of the house of David came to an end."

If Jehoahaz = Shallum, as in Jer. 22:10-12, this expansion is rather puzzling, because the kingdom continued for some time after Jehoahaz. As Jewish expositors also had problems with I Chr. 3:15, a look at their attempts to deal with these problems may shed some light on the expansion.

In b. Ker. 5b and b. Hor. 11b, these matters are discussed in almost identical terms: I Chr. 3:15 is quoted and three important points emerge:

- (a) Shallum and Zedekiah are identified;
- (b) Jehohanan and Jehoahaz are identified;
- (c) The order of the last kings of Judah is established as Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, Zedekiah.

The Jehohanan - Jehoahaz identification is understandable, but with Jer. 22:10-12 in the back of one's mind the identification of Shallum and Zedekiah raises more problems.

It may be that the Rabbis, with the four final kings settled, and having a Shallum in another list, saw an ideal opportunity to link up

Zedekiah, the last king, with Shallum ($\text{ש ל ם} <$, 'to come to an end, cease'), especially as Shallum is the last name in the list of the sons of Josiah in 3:15. Or, alternatively, for teaching purposes, they saw this device as a very useful method of imprinting on a pupil's mind, the name of the last king of Judah: Zedekiah = Shallum - FINIS!

At any rate, in each of the above references, we have this identification thrice stressed.

With the Rabbis' love of extracting a double meaning if the word permitted, we find in each reference, two 'points of contact' for the identification:

He was called Shallum, according to our Rabbis, שהיה משולם
 $\text{ששלמה מלכות בית דוד}$, but others stated במעשיו
 בימי .

TC simply takes over the latter explanation, reproducing it almost word for word - $\text{רשלימה מלכותא רבית דוד בימי}$ but leaving behind one doubt: when the explanation based on Shallum's name was given in the Talmud, it was in a 'Zedekiah = Shallum' context; in TC, however, where Zedekiah immediately precedes Shallum with no suggestion of identification, and where the expansion is simply attached to Shallum, those who read or listened to this expansion must have been left with the impression that Shallum was the last king of Judah.

One still wonders how the Rabbis answered a query on Jer. 22:10-12! Targum Jonathan gives no help.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

בבגים הבכור PC

None of the emphasis in TC is reflected in PC.

4. Conclusions

As PC follows MT, apart from a minor variant, there are no external influences at work on PC; in particular there is no suggestion of influence from TC.

In this short section PC translates MT faithfully and in the six personnel listed I can find no variant in the four MSS and the two Editions examined!

3:17-24 THE HOUSE OF DAVID FROM THE CAPTIVITY IN THE LINE OF JEHOIACHIN

Many of the names in this section are not found elsewhere in the Old Testament. PC does his best with a text which itself has many problems. Sometimes, he helps to make a difficult text intelligible, e.g. 3:21, but at other times his alterations lead to confusion, e.g. in 3:18, where MT lists six sons of Jeconiah, PC, by inserting בְּנוֹת after each name gives a continuous father-son line of descent. As was seen in 3:18, so also in 3:20, 22, 23, 24, when an inclusive numeral comes at the end of a list in MT, PC ignores it. In PC 3:23f, ten names have disappeared, whether because he lost heart, or allowed his attention to flag, or was working from a damaged manuscript, is difficult to say.

In TC, at 3:24, there is one interesting Targumic Expansion:

"... Anani, he is the king Messiah, who will be revealed."

(עֲנָנִי הוּא מֶלֶךְ מְשִׁיחָא רַעְתִּיר לְאַתְגְּלָא)

The operative word here is עֲנָנִי, the link most probably being with עֲנָנִי in Dan. 7:13, where 'I saw in visions of the night,

וְאַרְוֵה עִמָּי שְׂמִיָּא there came one like a son of man!'

As to how the Rabbis treated this verse, we get some idea from b. Sanh. 98a. In the midst of a discussion on the coming of the Messiah, Isa. 60:22 is examined, a contradiction in the verse having been pointed out by R. Joshua b. Levi between בִּעֲתָהּ and אֲחִישָׁנָה. The problem seemed to be:

(a) if the redemption Messiah brings is to come at its appointed time,

(b) to hasten it would be to bring it before its appointed time.

The answer is given:

(b) will happen if men are worthy זָכוּ אֲחִישָׁנָה

(a) will happen if men are not worthy לֹא זָכוּ בִּעֲתָהּ.

We have an abbreviated version of this discussion in the closing words of Shir. R. VIII. 14, I, with a concluding prayer "So may it be God's will speedily in our days. Amen."

A further apparent contradiction spotted by R. Joshua b. Levi is then pointed out - between Dan. 7:13 and Zech. 9:9 where, in the former it is written וְאָרְרוּ עִם עֲנֹנֵי שָׁמַיָא כִּבְרֵי אִינִשׁ אֲתִי and in the latter עֲנִי וּרְכַב עַל חֲמֹר.

The problem seemed to be:

(a) in Dan. the emphasis in the coming of the Messiah is speed (following Rashi);¹

(b) In Zech., travelling by ass, the emphasis is on slowness.

The answer is given:

(a) will happen if they are worthy זָכוּ עִם עֲנֹנֵי שָׁמַיָא

(b) will happen if they are not worthy לֹא זָכוּ עֲנִי וּרְכַב עַל חֲמֹר

1. See also J. A. MONTGOMERY, Daniel (1927) ICC, p. 303.

In his discussion of this S. H. Levey¹ seems to draw out a contrast between "clouds of heaven" (ענני) and "humble" (עני). From his remarks I am not sure if he is interpreting this as a contrast between 'coming in majesty' and 'coming in humility'. It is difficult to be dogmatic here. In Levey's favour (if I have interpreted him correctly) is the remark following in b. Sanh., where king Shapur seems amazed that Messiah should travel on a donkey and promises to send a white horse. On the other hand, the previous 'contradiction' revolved around the 'speedy appearance' of the Messiah. Had Dan. wished to stress 'coming in majesty' he would have been more likely to use על.²

At any rate Anani seems to have become a title of the Messiah, through the linking of the עני of I Chr. 3:24 and the עני of Dan. 7:13. There may also be a reference to this in b. Sanh. 96b-97a. where R. Nahman said to R. Isaac, מי שמיץ לך אימת אתי בר נפלי, and on being asked 'Who is bar Naphli?' answered נשיח; though the exposition goes on to base the identification on Amos 9:11 את סכת נפלי, it may in fact be meant to represent νεφελαν.³

In I Chr. 3:24 Anani is the last named in the line of David; if Messiah is to come from this line, He must be either Anani or bar Anani. As to which came first - the regarding of (bar) Anani as a messianic title as a natural outgrowth of the verse, or the acceptance of עני of Dan. 7:13 as an attempt to make clear the nature of the

1. p. 140.

2. R. H. CHARLES, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel (1929) p. 186, thinks that על was the original reading but that it was corrupted to עמ "perhaps not earlier than the beginning of the Christian era", and he therefore prefers the Ζππ of LXX to μετα of Theodotion.

3. See STRACK/BILLERBECK I, 66.

coming of the Messiah, is difficult to say. Equally difficult is to try to show at which point in time there was interplay between these two verses on the basis of **עֲנִי**. Levey¹ regards the Talmudic discussion on **(שְׁמִיָּה) עֲנִי** as possibly the origin of the Targumic statement. It is difficult to be sure as each word in its context has a certain amount of built-in 'exegetical thrust'!

Some clues may be found in the following:

(a) The Rabbis involved in the discussion, e.g. R. Isaac, R. Joshua b. Levi, R. Alexandri, are all of the third century.

(b) J. Klausner points out² that "as to actual names" (of the Messiah) "only a few are known to the Tannaitic period, in contrast to the following period, which knows them in great number".

(c) The only two references to a link having been made between I Chr. 3:24 and Dan. 7:13 listed in Strack/Billerbeck are to be found in Tanhuma.

(d) The fact that so few references to bar Anani exist indicates that the title does not seem to have found much favour - perhaps because the passage of time and the non-appearance of the Messiah seemed to be giving the lie to the 'speedy appearance' idea involved in **בְּיָמָיו**, but our Targumist still had hope that the Davidic Messiah would come.

(e) Because of the general nature of the expansion in TC I Chr. 3:24, very little can be deduced from it.

1. p. 162.

2. The Messianic Idea in Israel (1956), p. 461.

SUMMARY

In those passages in I Chr. 3 which have no parallel elsewhere, PC emerges as a typical translator dealing with a text which, in places, is quite difficult. Sometimes he improves his text, e.g. 3:21; sometimes he introduces confusion e.g. 3:18; sometimes he is extremely faithful, e.g. 3:15f; sometimes he seems quite careless, e.g. 3:23f.

In 3:1-5 which is paralleled in Sam., a new emphasis appears. Many of the PC variants are to be found in Sam., sometimes in the whole Sam. tradition, but sometimes specifically in PS, e.g. the addition of חַיָּה in 3:5, paralleled in PS II Sam. 5:14; כִּי אֵלֶּיךָ in 3:3, paralleled in PS II Sam. 3:4. PS seems, therefore, to be the main channel of the Sam. influence. PC, however, is not tied slavishly to a parallel passage; even where he is obviously using such a passage, we see him also going his own way, e.g. in 3:4 where there is clearly a conflation attempt with PS, PC supplies וְיָדָע.

It should also be noted that in the list of some of David's children in 3:6-8, paralleled in Sam. and later in Chr., each translator seems to be following his parent text and there is less influence of PS on PC.

There does not seem to be any influence on PC of TC or its exegetical emphases.

CHAPTER FOUR

I CHRONICLES, CHAPTER TEN

The intention of this chapter is to examine in considerable detail a short section of narrative in Chronicles most of which has a parallel in Samuel. My concern is not to discuss the way in which MT Chr. handled the Sam. material, but to try to see how PC set about translating into Syriac a narrative portion of the Old Testament. Certain questions inevitably arise: Did he stick rigidly to his Old Testament Hebrew text? Was he translating from a Targum? Was he influenced in his work by a Syriac or other version of the parallel passage in Sam.? Is he a 'wooden translator' or does he give us any hints of an imaginative, independent approach to his work?

Each verse is looked at under approximately the same four headings as were used in the previous chapter:

1. General Comments; 2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS; 3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT; 4. Conclusions

I Chr. 10:1-14 THE DEATH OF SAUL

I Chr. 10:1-12 are paralleled in I Sam. 31:1-13.

10:1

Parallel I Sam. 31:1

1. General Comments

The differences between MTC and MTS are slight.

(a) נלחמו נלחמים MTS.

(b) וינסו אנשי ישראל וינסו איש ישראל MTS.

LXX Chr. B A drops איש ישראל, possibly regarding the words as

superfluous.¹

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

(a) וַיִּנָּסוּ וְאֶפְכָּר TC.

Though the verb becomes plural, the subject remains a collective singular, אִנָּשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל.

(b) וַיִּנָּסוּ בְּחֶרֶב TC MS V

בְּחֶרֶב TC (A. Sperber)

בְּחֶרֶב TC MS C

V is difficult to translate. A. Sperber's version is the most straightforward: 'slain by the sword', but C's version may be an attempt to say 'those who were slain by the sword (fell)', i.e. that the massacre was not total.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(a) וַיִּנָּסוּ אִנָּשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּפְּלוּ בְּחֶרֶב PC

A collective singular subject has become plural (unlike TC) and the verb also has become plural (like TC). This is in line with the Sam. tradition, and therefore with PS, BUT for וַיִּפְּלוּ PS has וַיִּנָּסוּ.

(b) וַיִּנָּסוּ אִנָּשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּפְּלוּ בְּחֶרֶב וַיִּנָּסוּ PC.

This involves a slight modification and an additional word. Where MT reads: "and they fell slain . . .", PC has: "and many slain fell . . .". It is difficult to know why the extra word וַיִּנָּסוּ appears here. It may be that a translator, in a mood of 'exactness', felt that the text, as it stood, gave the impression that a total massacre with no survivors had taken place, and that the insertion of וַיִּנָּסוּ presented a truer picture of the situation. If this is so, then PC has the same

1. cf. L. C. ALLEN, I, 119.

intention as TC MS C¹ though his method is entirely different.

Of slight interest also is the fact that while PS translates **נפני** as **פני**, PC has **פני**.

4. Conclusions

(a) Any influence from TC on PC can be ruled out; the TC with the sword does not appear, and though **נפני** has become **נפני** (**נפני**) this would be a natural change for a translator to make: **נפני** is found also in PS.

(b) The PS change to plural of both subject and verb in PC, may suggest some influence from PS, but it should be remembered that PS **לל** (7 a 1 has **לל**, Edd. **לל** : either 7 a 1 has forgotten the s^e yāmē or he regards **לל** as collective) has become **לל** in PC; the failure to transfer the **פני** of **פני** to PC helps also to lessen the possibility of influence from PS.

(c) PC goes its own way with **לל**, the **לל** being found only here. Rudolph² regards this addition in PC as part of the original text and would therefore like to insert **לל** before **לל** : "im Grundtext ist **לל** in Menge" vor **לל** ausgefallen". Certainly the similarity of letters in **לל** could lead to omission, but it seems more likely as suggested above, that a translator with a feeling of 'exactness', and perhaps aware from I Chr. 11 and II Sam. 1:1-10 that not all the Israelites had been killed, used **לל** to convey what he thought was the correct picture.

1. See para. 2(b) above.

2. p. 92.

10:2

Parallel I Sam. 31:21. General Comments

In MTC and MTS three sons of Saul are named - Jonathan, Abinadab and Malchishua. In I Chr. 8:33 and 9:39, the order is changed - Jonathan, Malchishua, Abinadab, and a fourth name is added, Eshbaal. Another list appears in I Sam. 14:49 - Jonathan, Ishvi, Malchishua. Some identify Ishvi with Eshbaal e.g. S. R. Driver,¹ some with Abinadab e.g. J. Mauchline,² Ps. Jerome.³

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

TC follows MT closely.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(a) ויכו] סגב PC

A comparison of the two traditions reveals interesting differences and illustrates how translators can scarcely avoid becoming interpreters.

	CHR	SAM
MT	ויכו	ויכו
Tg	ומחו	וקטלו
Pesh	סגב	ספלו

נכה , to smite, strike, sometimes to strike fatally, is often translated by מחי (Aram) or סגב. This more neutral word נכה is replaced in TS by a rather more definite one קטל, found also in PS, ספלו, while in TC the more neutral word is retained, but in PC a much more 'devastating' one is found סגב. From our point of view it is of interest that here PC and PS go their separate ways: though each ends up with much the same result, each uses a different

1. Notes, p. 227.

2. p. 191.

3. Col. 1346.

word to express it - נִבַּח and מִלֵּךְ. While PS uses the same word as TS, PC does not use the same word as TC.

(b) אֲבִינָדָב] מִלֵּךְ PC 7 a 1 9 a 1

מִלֵּךְ PC 6 h 13 8 a 1 Edd.

The מִלֵּךְ is shared by PS - though not by TS, I Sam. 31:2. As mentioned in 1 above there are problems as to the identity of מִלֵּךְ in MT of Sam. and Chr.: at our verse, both PC and PS are in no doubt - they identify מִלֵּךְ and Abinadab. In PC I Chr. 8:33 and 9:39, as in Sam. tradition at I Sam. 14:49 the same identification is made. Thus Pesh. does not have אֲבִינָדָב. It may be that he was known by two names and Pesh happens to reproduce just one of them. This, however, seems to be too much of a coincidence, and we may have to accept the fact that here there is some impact from the Sam. tradition at I Sam. 14:49 which, through PS, made its impact on PC.

In passing some comment should be made on 7 a 1 in this verse.

For מִלֵּךְ he has מִלֵּךְ
חֶלֶק he has חֶלֶק (i.e. he does not
repeat the חֶלֶק for the second object).

חֶלֶק (1) he has חֶלֶק, all of which seem to represent bad workmanship rather than stylistic features.

4. Conclusions

(a) It is unlikely that there is any influence on PC from TC which sticks so closely to MT;

(b) While there seems to be some PS influence on the מִלֵּךְ substitution in PC, it should also be remembered that PC goes its own way in the translation of מִלֵּךְ.

10:3

Parallel: I Sam. 31:31. General Comments(a) המורים אנשים בקשת MTS.It is difficult to know how best to construe the אנשים of Sam.S. R. Driver¹ thinks it has been misplaced and should precede המורים.H. P. Smith² regards אנשים בקשת as a gloss to explain המורים.(b) ויחל add מאר MTS.The addition is Sam.'s way of emphasising Saul's plight.

2. TARGUMIC VARIANTS

(a) ותקיפו עבדי קרבה ותכבר המלחמה TC.

This variant is shared by TS, and seems to be an attempt, by using more concrete language, to give a vivid picture of the battle and of Saul's position.

(b) קשתיה ראומנין מיגר בקשתא המורים בקשת TC.TS. קשתיה גברין ראומנין מגר בקשתאFrom the awkwardness of MTS referred to in 1 above - המורים אנשים בקשת -

TS is clearly an attempt to make it more readable. The attempt however, is only a qualified success and there is a certain doubt as to whether we should regard גברין - 'archers, men who were skilled etc', or as 'some', thus, 'archers, some who were skilled etc'.

At any rate, TC, with MTC and TS before him, improves on TS by dropping גברין, and leaves us with the impression of "very skilled archers" or "top-class archers".

(c) ורחיל ויחל TC = TS.It may be that the Targumist, unsure of the meaning of ויחל - an1. Notes, p. 228.

2. p. 252.

uncertainty evidenced also in modern commentaries - substituted a word of similar appearance as it seemed to sum up Saul's emotional state at that time.

If the approach adopted in (b) is correct, then the "extras" in TC are dependent largely on TS.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(a) $\text{אלא מִקְלָא, אִמְנֵי אֲבִי חֲסֵה} \text{]הַמּוֹרִים בְּקִשָּׁה(א) PC.}$

When one compares this with the PS reading one is surprised to find that PS with its $\text{מִקְלָא בִּסְהֵה} \text{ is a simple rewriting of MTS; indeed, allowing for a slight change in the verb chosen, it is not unlike MTC! Lee's and Walton's versions regarded this as too abbreviated and try to restore the balance by prefixing } \text{בְּחֵי. The presence of } \text{אלא in PC may indicate a link with TS and its } \text{גְּבִרִין, or it may be that, looking at TC, PC felt the need for } \text{אלא before } \text{מִקְלָא to ensure that there was no confusion between 'bowman' and 'bow'. Also in this variant, the addition of } \text{אֲבִי in PC has transformed them into "very, very skilled archers".}$

(b) $\text{]וַיַּחֲלֵל pr סִבְּיָהּ וְאֵל מִלֵּוָּה PC MSS}$
 (om אֵל Edd.)

PC alone has this addition which is what one would expect in a Targum - a clause introduced to give the sentence a more rounded-off emphasis and to make the meaning a little more specific.

(c) $\text{]וַיַּחֲלֵל מִן הַמּוֹרִים } \text{מִלֵּוָּה אֲבִי מִלֵּוָּה PC.}$
 $\text{מִלֵּוָּה אֲבִי מִלֵּוָּה PS.}$
 (om מִלֵּוָּה Edd.)

This also seems to be based on the Targum - but on which? מִלֵּוָּה is common to both TC and TS; אֲבִי is only in TS (and in MTS) though PC introduced a אֲבִי in variant (a) from nowhere! $\text{מִלֵּוָּה אֲבִי מִלֵּוָּה}$

may be a corruption from PS's ס. מ. ק. ס. מ. ק. א or it may be simply PC's desire to use a pronoun for a noun.

4. Conclusions

In this verse influences on PC are by no means clearly defined: the influence of PS seems to be weak, and while there seems to be some dependence on either TS or TC or both, it is interesting that one addition shared by both TC and TS מלחמה עברי קרובא for מלחמה is not found in either PC or PS. As well, we see PC introducing his own addition - "and when Saul saw them". It seems, therefore, that PC, while aware of PS and TC (and perhaps TS) felt free to weave them into his translation as he saw fit, without feeling bound slavishly to any of them.

10:4

Parallel I Sam. 31:4

1. General Comments

There is a remarkably close correspondence between this verse and its parallel in MT, the only difference of importance being:

(a) ויהתעללו pr ורקרני MTS.

If we had available only the Chr. text there would be no problem in the interpretation of ויהתעללו: it would imply that Saul was requesting his armour-bearer to kill him to prevent the Philistines' 'making sport of him' whilst he was still alive. The insertion of ורקרני in Sam. confuses the issue: Saul is now requesting his armour-bearer to kill him, to prevent the Philistines' killing him and making sport of him. As J. Mauchline¹ puts it, if "the Philistines thrust him through they could not taunt him or make sport of him".

1. p. 191.

Could it then be that the Sam. account stresses Saul's fear of the Philistines' making sport of him after he was dead? But the armour-bearer's killing him could in no way prevent that. It is because of the confusion thus introduced into the Sam. text that some commentators e.g. S. R. Driver¹ think that Chr. preserves a better text. Much depends on how we interpret רָקַר to pierce, pierce through². The other instances of the use of the Qal in the Old Testament involve death. But was death necessarily thought of as immediate or was it also thought of as following (perhaps at a later time) as a result of the piercing or stabbing? e.g. one of the Pual usages in the Old Testament, Jer. 37:10, clearly implies not immediate death, but very severe wounding. How does this affect the Sam. passage?

(i) Most commentators accept the former emphasis, i.e. that רָקַר implies immediate death. Once this is accepted we are immediately faced with the confusion mentioned above.

(ii) It is possible that the latter emphasis, i.e. stabbing, not leading to immediate death, is what is intended here: that Saul was requesting that his armour-bearer kill him lest the Philistines wound him severely and degrade him whilst in that wounded state, a parallel to which we find in the 'hanging, drawing and quartering' technique of our own history. Against this, however, is the problem that in the first part of I Sam. 31:4 רָקַר would be used in the sense of 'to kill' and in the second part 'to wound severely'.

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

(a) רָקַר רָנִי רָקַר רָנִי TC.

As so often the Targumist leaves us in no doubt as to how a word should

1. Notes, p. 228.

2. BDB, p. 201.

be interpreted. TS shares this variant and, what is more important, also uses קטל for the second usage of רקר in I Sam. 31:4. In the light of the discussion in 1 above, both TC and TS interpret רקר throughout in its former emphasis. But neither of them, TS in particular, makes any attempt to explain how the armour-bearer's killing of Saul would prevent degrading or mutilation after death.

(b) ויתלעבון]והתעללו[TC MSS V and C; TS.

ויתלעבון TC (A. Sperber); some TS MSS.

These differences present no problems, as לעבן and עלבן seem to be interchangeable.¹

(c) אתרמא]ויפל[TC.

TS retains נפל. TC's translation is a little more descriptive and makes it clear that suicide was involved.

It is difficult to know if TC in its translation was in any way influenced by TS, as they are both dealing with very similar wording. What is perhaps more significant is that the 'extra' in MTS (והקרני) is not transferred to TC.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(a)]חרבך[שפף PC 7 a 1; שפף PC rel.

7 a 1 uses the rarer word, whether by confusion of פ and כ, or deliberately; but what is of more significance is that שפף is the rendering of PS.

(b)]פך[חבל PC; חבל PS.

The thrust of פך is expressed better by חבל, and the חבל may be a textual corruption, but so far as meaning is concerned in this instance, there is scarcely any difference.

1. JASTROW, pp. 713 and 1080.

- (c)]והתעלל pr סמלם PC 7 a 1 6 h 13 Edd.
סמלם PC 8 a 1 9 a 1.

The variant in its second form is found also in PS. While one expects to find PS using סמלם as the expression is found both in MTS and TS, it is significant to find it in PC as it appears neither in MTC nor in TC. The fact that the ו is omitted in PS and in some of the PC MSS may help to reinforce the possibility of borrowing here from PS.

- (d)]את ההרב סמלם PC and PS.

4. Conclusions

The important variant in PC is the addition of (ס) סמלם which is found in PS, and in TS and MTS but not in TC or MTC. While קטל is used by TC for its דקר and by TS for דקר (1) and (2), סמלם is used by PC for דקר and by PS for דקר (2). One way or other TC, TS, PC, PS interpret דקר in the 'former emphasis' in para. 1 above, i.e. implying immediate death.

There is also some affinity between PC and PS in the attachment of the suffix in סמלם for ההרב, but the joint use here of סמלם for הרב is balanced earlier in the verse where PC uses ע:כא for הרב while PS uses סמלם.

Another instance which helps to limit the influence of PS is the translation of עללל, becoming סמלם in PC and באט in PS.

TC does not seem to have any influence on PC; the one feature in TC not found elsewhere, אתרמא is not repeated in PC, which uses נכל as MTC, PS, TS, MTS!

We thus seem to have some influence from PS, none from TC, and PC also able to go his own way.

10:5

Parallel I Sam. 31:51. General Comments

There are two minor differences between this verse and its parallel.

(a) על חרבו] על החרב MTS.

(b) ויחת עמה] ויחת] MTS.

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

TC follows MT very closely, except for:

ויתרמא] ויפל TC.

This change happened also in the previous verse, and as in the previous verse, TS retains the נפל of MT.

The only inner-targumic variant is:

על סייפא] על החרב TC MSS V and C.

על סיפיה TC (A. Sperber).

The suffix is added also in TS and MTS, though the noun used is חרב.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(a) ויפל] על החרב PC.

This variant is found also in PS (= TS and MTS), and see also A.

Sperber's reading in 2 above.

(b) ויחת] ויחתו PC.

"with him" is found also in MTS, TS, LXX Sam. but surprisingly it is omitted in PS.

4. Conclusions

The TC influence on PC is negligible; as in 10:4 the important change in TC, נפל → ויתרמא becomes ויפל in PC, as in MTC and Sam. tradition.

The ויפל of PC is very close to A. Sperber's על סיפיה but is of little value, as it seems a natural change for a

translator to make, being found also in Chr. LXX and Arm. The same consideration could be applied to PC's sharing of וְלֹא with PS.

PS seems to lose its hold further in its omission of וְלֹא. PC has וְלֹא (against MTC and TC) and as MTS and TS have it, one assumes it will be in PS also. This omission could force us into assuming that the influence on PC is from MTS or TS, but it is also possible that וְלֹא disappeared here for textual reasons from PS.

The general picture, then, is that if there is any influence on PC, it comes from the Sam. tradition, and probably, from TS - or PS?

10:6

Parallel I Sam. 31:6

1. General Comments

The basic difference between this verse and its parallel is its briefer summary of the casualties:

(a) וְנָשָׂא כָלִי גַם כָּל אֲנָשָׁיו בְּיוֹם הַהוּא כִּי כָל בֵּיתוֹ MTS.

(b) כִּי מָתוּ om MTS.

In his summary, where כָּל בֵּיתוֹ died, we run into the problem that later, e.g. II Sam. 2:8f, we are aware that one of his house, Ishbosheth, is still alive. This, however, need not indicate that here the Chronicler made a slip, but rather that in the Chronicler's eyes, with Saul's death Saul's house was finished: indeed he does not mention any of his descendants.

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

כָּל אֲנָשׁ בֵּיתָהּ רָהוּן תָּמַן כָּל בֵּיתוֹ TC.

In this short expansion TC is "setting the record straight". He knows that after Saul's death there was still a survivor of his house, so, lest there be any misunderstanding, he qualifies the statement of MT

[illegible]

PS ۵۱ و ۵۲ صحیفه ۵۱ و ۵۲

If the suggestion in 3b is not regarded as valid, then the scales must tip in favour of TS's being the dominant influence.

By substituting another expression for כל ביתך, PC left room for Ishbosheth, whose theological exclusion MTC had managed to bring about!

10:7

Parallel I Sam. 31:7

1. General Comments

The parallel verse is somewhat cumbersome, Chr. giving a much shorter version but, in the shortening, a slightly different version!

The three important differences are:

(a) אנשי ישראל כל איש ישראל MTS

MTS אשר בעבר העמק ואשר בעבר הירדן [אשר בעמק (b)

(c) add אנשי ישראל MTS

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

TC follows MTC remarkably closely, as does TS its MTS.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

PC 7 a 1; לא; אש: כל איש ישראל (a)

ψ_m, ψ PC rel. ψ_m, ψ PS.

The 7 a 1 variant agrees with PS.

PC, אלה חבלי הפסלה, סגלה חבלי המשיך [אשר בעמק (b)]

PS (7 a 1) جلد: ۱، باب: ۱

PS (Edd.) حبنا، حبنا،

The reading in PS (7 a 1) is strange, becoming even stranger in Walton and Lee, and there is a very strong possibility that a second ^{حج: ١} has disappeared from PS probably because of the similarity of ^{لوحه} ~~لوحه~~;

and חַבְּבָה , or more likely through Homoioteleuton with חַבְּבָה as has happened also in LXX Sam. A where $\text{הַעֲמִקָּה וְאֶשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר}$ are untranslated. Thus PC here seems to be relying on a PS MS whose text was closer to MTS and TS. If this is the case we can see a strong influence of PS on PC, but PC also going his own way by inserting וְאֶשֶׁר and by replacing וְאֶשֶׁר by a word more cognate with the Hebrew. If we reject the idea that some words have fallen out in PS, then the influence on PC must come from either TS or MTS.

(c) וְאֶשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר PC; וְאֶשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר PS.

וְאֶשֶׁר in MT needs a more specific subject than "they". LXX Chr. supplies וְאֶשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר , PC וְאֶשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר . Whether PC was under PS's influence or not is difficult to say, but one way or other we see PC also going his own way.

(d) וְאֶשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר PC; וְאֶשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר PS.

The singular form of the verb is shared with PS, but not the verb. His use of וְאֶשֶׁר may be PC's way - like TC in 10:4f, with his וְאֶתְרַמָּה - of stressing that Saul had committed suicide.

(e) וְאֶשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר PC = PS

The suffix is not found except in MTC and TC, i.e. PC is agreeing here with the whole of the Sam. tradition.

(f) וְאֶשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר PC 7 a 1; וְאֶשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר PC rel; וְאֶשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר PS. The 7 a 1 variant in PC agrees with PS.

4. Conclusions

It is difficult to avoid drawing three conclusions:

(a) that TC has no influence on PC;

(b) that the influence of the Sam. tradition on PC is strong,

and the coincidence twice of the PC 7 a 1 variant with PS may help to throw some light on the avenue of this influence;

(c) that even with strong influence from Sam. we still see PC going his own way.

10:8

Parallel I Sam. 31:8

1. General Comments

This verse is very similar to its parallel with one important difference:

MTS ואת שלשת בניו]ואת בניו

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

(a) TC. וית תלת בניו]ואת בניו

This addition of "three" is shared by TS and MTS.

(b) TC. קטילין רמן]נפלים

This addition is shared by TS.

נפל has two derived meanings:

(i) to fall → to lie; (ii) to fall → die.

TC and TS seem to be expressing both these possibilities and in so doing are making clear that Saul's wish had been granted - that when the Philistines came, he was dead.

As variants (a) and (b) are both found in TS, the latter seems to have had some influence on TC.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT


(a) PS להם אלה PC; להם אלה]ממחרת

These two readings do not seem very close - in fact the nearest we have to PC's variant is TS: . ביום דבחרוהי

(b) PC. סלמא חסא]ואת בניו

This is shared by PS, TS, MTS and TC! It would thus be difficult on the basis of one variant to decide which was the stronger influence - or to see in it PC filling in the number himself.

PS به ا: مع PC; م: م: مع [נפלי (c)

The PC reading is shared only partly by PS, but almost completely (i.e. less the copula) by TC and TS קטילין רמן . It is difficult to demonstrate how the hazards of textual transmission caused a  to become a ٢ in PS; there seems, then, to be a clear influence from either TC or TS.

4. Conclusions

When two or more influences seem to be operating on PC, it is difficult to decide if or which one should have the pre-eminence. Even though PS shares a reading with PC in 3(b), the fact that in 3(a) and 3(c) the PC and PS readings differ seems to rule out PS as the main channel of Sam. influence. As MTS operates only in 3(b), TC and TS are left as the two main candidates. Up until now in this chapter TC's influence has been very slight: it seems strange therefore, (though not impossible) that it should emerge suddenly now as a major factor. This fact tips the scale, albeit a little tentatively, in favour of TS. 3(a) may help a little more, as the PC reading while not by any means identical with TS, is nearer to it (רבותרוהי) than to TC (ביותא אחרך) which, surprisingly is very close to PS (לכטשט): One other factor may help further: of MTC and MTS becomes in TC לערטלא and in TS לחלא, while in PC we have לעטל and in PS לעטל, i.e. again TS and PC have something in common.

It seems, then, that the influence of TS is very strong on PC 10:8.

10:9

Parallel I Sam. 31:9

1. General Comments

There is some rearrangement and one important difference in this

verse in relation to its parallel.

- (a)]ויכשיטהו וישאו את ראשו ואת כליו
ויכרתו את ראשו ויכשיטו את כליו MTS.

Both are saying much the same thing.

- (b) לבשר בית עצביהם]לבשר את עצביהם MTS.

De Rossi¹ lists several MSS which support בית in MTC, Ehrlich² recommends its acceptance, S. R. Driver³ and Rudolph⁴ prefer את.

The Versions are as divided as the commentators!

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

- (a)]וישאו TC. ואתיזו

TC has used a rather stronger word.

- (b)]וישלחו TC MS V; ושרא TC MS C.

The strange reading in MS C must be a scribal error, as it seems to make no sense in the context.

- (c)]את עצביהם TC. יתבית . טעותהון

TC is here having the best of both worlds, by combining the את of MTC with the בית of MTS and TS!

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

- (a) ויכשיטהו וישאו את ראשו ואת כליו
ספסלם ; ימשם ספסלם ספסלם ספסלם PC
ספסלם ; ימש ספסלם ספסלם ספסלם PS (TS and MTS).

PC is clearly following the pattern of PS, TS and MTS, but goes completely his own way by making 'head' plural and adding a plural suffix to both nouns.

1. p. 177.
 2. p. 333.
 3. Notes, p. 230
 4. p. 92.

(b) PC. לא; ל] בארץ

Only LXX and Arm share the Δ of PC, all other witnesses reading γ . There is nothing significant about this variant as MT reads a little strangely at this point and a translator, seeking greater clarity, would easily change the γ to δ .

PC לעזקא סלעטינגא סלעטא [סריב] (c)

This variant, found only in PC, is an excellent example of a 'non-Targum-targumic-type' reading, and is an equally good example of comprehensiveness. There could not have been many who did not have the opportunity of knowing about Saul's defeat. Though perhaps the classification given here of urban areas was not completely applicable in Saul's day!

(d) PC. ... את עצביהם

As pointed out in 1 above, **תב** is the reading of MTS and is followed by TS and PS (but not by LXX Sam.) and - partly - by TC. The **תא** is certainly the more difficult, and probably the better reading, but our witnesses did not seem to think so!

(e)]ואת העם o ~~והעם~~ PC 7 a 1, 8 a 1, 9 a 1.
o ~~והעם~~ PC 6 h 13, Edd.

The suffix found only in PC is a natural addition as it rounds off the sentence following 'their idols'. PS shares the Δ in how the Δ also being an attempt to make a difficult clause more readable. TS, like MTS, has Π^* .

4. Conclusions

Coming straight from the preceding verse where the influence of TS seemed quite strong and expecting to find this repeated or even strengthened in this verse, one discovers that PC has other plans afoot. On three occasions PC goes his own way; there is certainly some influence

from the Sam. tradition, e.g. in the lay-out of 3(a): it is difficult to say if this is coming through PS, who, especially in I Sam. 31:9b does not seem happy with his Vorlage and tries to improve it by rearrangement, with only limited success; there may be some influence from TS, but this must be immediately qualified by noting בבגס for וית ארעא and ל;ל for בארעא .

To sum up - there is certainly some influence from Sam. - TS or PS? - especially in I Chr. 10:9a, but PC shows a strong independence in modifying his material according to his own taste.

10:10

Parallel I Sam. 31:10

1. General Comments

The Parallel exhibits three important differences from Chr.:

- (a) אלהיהם] עשרות MTS.
- (b) גלגלתו] גויתו MTS.
- (c) בית דגון] בחומת בית שן MTS.

There are various problems connected with these variants and various suggestions put forward to deal with them, e.g. that (b) and (c) were largely originally in the Sam. text but similarity of appearance of certain letters caused one of the elements to drop out, but at the moment our concern is to note the variants and see if TC and PC were affected by their presence.

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

TC follows MTC closely with one exception:

- (a) זקפו על זקפא קביל שעות דגון] תקעו בית דגון TC.

Thus "his skull they fastened/nailed up in the house of Dagon" becomes "his skull they raised up on a pole opposite the idol of Dagon". TC is very descriptive; MTC's rather general statement becomes a much more

imaginative attempt to show where the skull was placed, and from Saul's (and Israel's) point of view, it could not have been in a more humiliating position.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(a) [את כליו] מלחמה מלחמה PC. מלחמה PS.

As in 10:9, PC, by making a third sing. into a third pl. suffix, included Saul's sons and their equipment in the public humiliation and demonstration of superiority. But PC is even more precise, adding to his text מלחמה. Fraenkel¹ thinks the addition came from TS's זיין but it may also be that PC was trying to be as exact and specific as possible, though it is difficult to be sure how he understood the terms. II Chr. 18:29 combines the words, R. Payne Smith² translating מלחמה as *arma bellica*, but in our verse the distinction may be between 'weapons' and 'armour'.

(b) בית אליהם] מלחמה PC.
מלחמה PS.

Here PC follows its MTC, while PS uses a more specialised term based on מלחמה ('hiding place', 'secret place') for מלחמה of MTS or מלחמה of TS.³

(c) [ואת גלגלתו תקעו בית דגון]
מלחמה מלחמה; מלחמה PC.
מלחמה מלחמה; מלחמה PS.

Rudolph's note in BHS on 10:10b 'Syr. sec. I S' is true in general terms but difficult to work out in detail. A first glance at the Syriac text shows an absolute identity between PC and PS in the second half of

1. p. 516.

2. col. 1992.

3. See R. PAYNE-SMITH, col. 746.

10:10b - **בב, א, בלח** causing one almost to conclude that here PC is relying on PS. But a glance at TS shows a similar identity of wording **בשורה רבית שן** (apart from י). Assistance from TS may be confirmed when one looks at the first part of 10b, where the two words (apart from a change in suffix) seem much closer to TS than to PS.

MTS **ואת גריותו תקעו**

TS **וית גופיה זלבו**

PC **ספגתם אלם**

PS **ספגתם מכם**

The verb **קע** especially is much closer to **זלב** than is **מכ** which is clearly meant to represent **תקע** (cf. LXX Sam. **κατεπαυξεν**). Thus Fraenkel¹ may be right when he regards the two above words in PC as a 'deutliche Uebersetzung' of the appropriate words in TS - leaving aside, of course, the difference in suffix. None the less, some doubts remain: one can understand why PC avoided using **לב**, for **זלב** because of **לב**, 's association with crucifixion. But **מכ** was still available (as in TC), and though it had also associations with crucifixion, it had a much wider range of use: one wonders also why, if PC used TS so extensively in 10:10b, he didn't also transfer the **עשתרתא** of TS in translating 10:10a, preferring in fact to stick to MTC or TC.

4. Conclusions

As suggested in 3 above, relationships are quite complex. Any direct influence from TC can be ruled out, for while its use could be assumed in **פאגתם - סערתהון**, PC could as easily have

1. p. 517.

taken this from MTC's אלהיהם, and as well the addition in 2(a) above is not taken over by PC. Clearly there is some influence from the Sam. tradition if only for the בית שן substitution for בית רגין, and it may be that this influence has come through TS, though we can still see PC going his own way, e.g. in the use of a plural suffix and, pace Fraenkel, in his addition of וּלְאֶחָדָם.

10:11

Parallel I Sam. 31:11

1. General Comments

The differences between this verse and its parallel are of little consequence and are simply noted:

(a) וְיִשְׁמְעוּ אֵלָיו MTS. וְיִשְׁמְעוּ

(b) יֹשְׁבֵי יְבִישׁ גִּלְעָד MTS. כָּל יְבִישׁ גִּלְעָד

LXX here seems to have read יֹשְׁבֵי for יְבִישׁ giving

παντες οι κατοικουντες Γαλαδ.

(c) אֵת כָּל אֲשֶׁר MTS. אֵת אֲשֶׁר

At end of verse LXX adds after לְשֹׁמְרָיו: καὶ τὴν ὁρμήν.

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

(a) כָּל יְבִישׁ גִּלְעָד TC. V and C. כָּל אֵינֶשׁ ג' ג'

כָּל אֵינֶשׁ ג' ג' TC (A. Sperber)

The אֵינֶשׁ of TC is a helpful addition, nothing more.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(a) כָּל יְבִישׁ PC = PS כָּל יְבִישׁ

(b) אֵת כָּל אֲשֶׁר PC = PS אֵת כָּל אֲשֶׁר

(c) לְשֹׁמְרָיו PC; כָּל אֲשֶׁר PS כָּל אֲשֶׁר

Up until this last variant PC and PS are identical in wording.

Surprisingly, PC's inclusive concern for Saul's sons in earlier verses with his changing of singular to plural suffixes is lacking this time

and PS has taken over that role in his addition of בְּחַסְדּוֹ.
Only PS introduces ב here to replace ל, the nearest being Vg to
I Chr. 10:11 (!) which has 'super Saul'!

4. Conclusions

The TC addition is not found in PC, which leans very heavily on the Sam. tradition, showing its agreement in the two major variants 3(a) and 3(b) above. But is the dependence on PS, TS or MTS? It is difficult to say: if the dependence is on PS we have to account for the failure of PC to take over סִבְלָה (סִבְלָה) סִבְלָה; if TS or MTS, we have to explain the omission of עֲלוּהִי / אֱלֹהֵי; indeed LXX Sam. might be more suitable, for it has none of these difficulties!

10:12

Parallel I Sam. 31:12, 13

1. General Comments

As this verse is considerably shorter than its parallel, attention is drawn first to the 'extras' in I Sam., in Hebrew script:

- (a) The warriors arose, וַיֵּלְכוּ כָּל הַלִּילָה,
- (b) They took the bodies... מִחוּמֹת בֵּית שָׁן,
- (c) They brought them to Jabesh, וַיֵּשְׂרוּ אֹתָם שָׁם,
- (d) וַיִּקְחוּ their bones and buried . . .

There are two slight differences within the 'joint' material -

- (i) וַיִּבְיֵאוּם וַיִּבְאוּ I Sam. 31:12
- (ii) וַיִּקְחוּ אֶשְׁלָה I Sam. 31:13.

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

- (a) וַיִּבְיֵאוּם בִּיבֵשׁ TC V.
בִּיבֵשׁ בִּיבֵשׁ TC C, A. Sperber

It is immaterial which is accepted but the latter seems to be the more likely reading.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

As these variants are so numerous it is easier to reproduce the text of PC than to list them.

סמכס לא יקחא מנא סלא סאולס מלכס ללכ
מכס פקיס; סאולס סקיס; חקיס מל עס; חלכ
סאולס לכס סאסכס אכס סמכס יקחיס
לכיס סאסכככככ; חכס סכס סכס מלכ

The following should be noted:

(a) The words underlined in PC represent material found in PS, but not in MTC or in TC; these underlined words agree in every respect with the wording in PS; there is no significant difference between the underlined words and the wording in MTS, but they do not agree entirely with TS where instead of וְקָלַר we have וַיִּשְׂרְפוּ אֹתָם שָׁם. The problem of burning corpses is not avoided in TC, as it is in TS, because MTC had no reference to the occurrence.

(b) In the non-underlined words, i.e. the 'joint material' there are some variants between PC and PS; the PC reading is given first:

(i) PS לא יקחא סלא [לא יקחא מנא סלא]

MTC and MTS both have כל איש חיל.

(ii) PS סמכס [לכיס]

MTC and MTS both have וַיִּקְבְּרוּ.

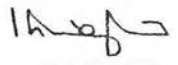

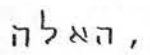
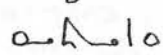
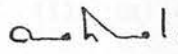
(iii) PS לכס [חכככככ]

MTC האשל MTS האלה

(c) In the joint material we have one reading which seems to be an attempt to conflate MTC and MTS.

סאולס for ויביאום (Chr.) ויבאו (Sam.)

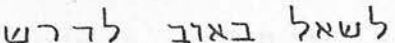
4. Conclusions

We can rule out any influence of TC on PC. For the rest it is hazardous to draw more than general conclusions: it is clear that there is an extraordinarily strong influence from Sam: all the variants listed in 1 a-d above are found in PC. Were it not for  which seems to be nearer than  to , and for  which seems to retain at least a toe-hold in MTC, one would be almost forced to conclude that PS had been taken over en bloc by PC. Indeed the PC readings listed in 3b i-iii along with the Chr. emphasis in  may represent the original Syriac attempt at translation from MTC, a translation which in due course was so heavily affected by PS as to make it almost indistinguishable from PS.

10:13-14

No parallel

1. General Comments

Rather like a Targumist, the Chronicler, having told us with help from I Sam. 31 the story of the final disastrous battle on Mount Gilboa, adds his own comments, his own theological reflections on the reasons for the decline and fall of his nation's first king. His style, especially in 10:13 is unhappy: Curtis¹ refers to "the heavy peculiar style of the Chronicler". We see this heaviness, particularly in 10:13b: . The first infinitive would have read better as a finite verb, and the need for the existence of the second infinitive is doubtful: Rudolph² and Ackroyd³ regard it as a marginal gloss while the former also allows for dittography with

1. p. 184.

2. p. 94.

3. P. R. ACKROYD, "The Chronicler as Exegete", JSOT Issue 2 (1977), p. 8.

the following לא דרש.

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

- 10:13 (a) ביהוה TC.
 (b) [שמר] add באגחותיה קרבא בורבית עמלק TC.
 (c) [לרש] למעבד מנהון אולפנא TC.
 10:14 (d) [דרש] תבדע אולפנא TC.
 (e) ביהוה TC.
 (f) [ולא דרש ביהוה] add. (MSC באוריא) (MSC ותומיא) TC.
 (g) [וימיתו] add. (MSC על רקטל כהניא רי בנוב) (MSC ותומיא) TC.

In these seven alterations we see TC behaving as a Targumist is normally supposed to behave:

- (i) (a) and (e): the use of מן קרם and מימרא with the sacred name - though we see יהוה used simpliciter with the verb קטל later in the verse;¹
- (ii) (c) and (d): the use of למעבד אולפנא מן as a translation for לדרש, e.g. in Ex. 18:15 TO, Ps. Jon., Neo. I;
- (iii) (b) and (g): filling in details which his parent text implied but did not state. MT: 'Saul did not keep the command of Yahweh': what commentators put in brackets or between dashes as a probability, e.g. P. R. Ackroyd in the Torch Commentary² states: 'This unfaithfulness consists in disobedience to the divine COMMAND - an allusion in all probability to the Amalekite war story of I Sam. 15 - and . . .', TC states as a fact adding 'when he made war with those of the house of Amalek'. Similarly in וימיתו: the subject 'Yahweh' is not named as such, but this is implied in the word; TC makes it explicit. We see the same principle in operation in LXX, where at the end of 10:13 we read $\alpha\lambda\alpha \ \alpha\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\nu\alpha\tau\omicron \ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma \ \Sigma\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta\lambda \ \delta \ \pi\rho\omicron\phi\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$, an addition which, preceded in e_2 by \div one of the few Hexaplaric signs in the Greek

1. cf. TC I Chr. 13:10; 15:26.

2. I and II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah (1973), p. 51.

Chr.,¹ is regarded by Allen as a late gloss.²

(iv) (f): making it clear that seeming contradictions have their explanations. TC was obviously worried about the Chronicler's comment that Saul had not sought the Lord, perhaps because he realised that elsewhere (in I Sam. 28:6) it is specifically stated that Saul had sought the Lord. This is possibly why he is at such pains to stress that he hadn't sought him in the correct way, using the correct liturgical aids, - 'with the help of the Urim and the Thummim'. But having said this, the Targumist has raised a further question which he must now go on to answer - Why did he not use the Urim and the Thummim? Answer: 'Because he had killed the priests who were at Nob' - and only the priests could use the Urim and Thummim. Here is the Targumist dotting all the 'i's' and crossing all the 't's' of the Chronicler's own argument that Saul's ruin was complete long before his death - it was complete, says TC, on the day he killed the Lord's priests and thereby cut himself off from the Lord.

(v) (f): homiletic emphasis often emerging. It does not require much imagination to see how a preacher or teacher would set about using the material in the preceding paragraph to illustrate the theme that cutting oneself off from the 'institutional Church' or falling out with the Establishment brings certain disaster.

Two things remain puzzling in variant (f):

For בְּאִרְיָה וְתוֹמִיָּה, MS C reads בְּאִרְיָה וְתוֹמִיָּה.

As the apparent suffix here is a singular suffix it would attach itself only with great difficulty to a plural noun. It may be a scribal error on C's part but, surprisingly, he made it twice.³

1. L. C. ALLEN, I, 98.

2. II, 40.

3. It may also be a case where נ is used interchangeably for ה.

R. le Déaut¹ in his translation, by placing a full stop after 'Thummin' finds here an example of the Lex Talionis: "Because he had slain the priests who were at Nob, Yahweh slew him . . .". By thus punctuating the verse the ו of וקטליה presents a problem which Le Déaut solves by omission. There may be some punctuation sign at this point in MS V, but MS C does not display any such sign. Le Déaut's punctuation may however, be influenced by the picture of Saul painted by Jewish tradition,² which, while regarding him as a tragic hero, saw his death as punishment for the killing of the priests at Nob in spite of Saul's remorse over the incident. But in our verse all שקריה ריי רשקר במיתרה ריי, which is then itemised, seems to be the reason why Yahweh killed him, not just the incident mentioned in the clause before וקטליה. The reason for mentioning the Nob affair, as suggested in (iv) above, was surely to show why the Urim and Thummin were not available, and I feel therefore, that the sentence should read: "In that he had not sought guidance from Yahweh through the Urim and the Thummin (because he had slain the priests who were at Nob), Yahweh slew him . . .".

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

13. (a) על רבריהוה PC. ס.מ.ק. ופ.מ.ס.
 (b) וגם לשאול PC (9 a 1 ס.מ.ק. ופ.מ.ס.).
 (c) לדרש om PC.
 14. (d) היהוה add אלמס PC.
 (e) וימיתהר om PC.
 (f) ויסב את המלכות PC. ס.מ.ק. ופ.מ.ס.

In these verses we see PC at work without the benefit of parallel passages to guide or distract him.

1. I, p. 65 and note 5.

2. See L. GINZBERG, Legends, IV, 72 and VI, 238.

Like TC his approach is also "targumic" in that starting from the 'heavy peculiar style of the Chronicler', he gives us a very readable version where most of the rough places are made plain!

(i) In contrast to TC he concentrates more on omission than addition, but his addition and his general approach betray no connection whatever with TC.

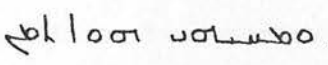
(ii) Literary blemishes are transformed, e.g. in the rather clumsy 10:13b **לדרש באוב לשאול וגם** mentioned in 1 above, the first infinitive becomes a finite verb ((b) above)¹ the second is omitted ((c) above), as in Vg. By contrast, the damaging effect on style caused by the retention of the second infinitive can be seen in LXX where **σὺς ἑστῆς** stands somewhat orphaned, at the end of a clause.

We see a similar feeling for literary style in the very next clause **וְלֹא דָרַשׁ בִּיהוָה**. In MT there is some contrast intended here to what has gone before: this contrast PC sharpens considerably by simply reversing the word order **כַּעֲלֵל הָאֱלֹהִים לָאֵל** and he makes the crime even more culpable by bringing out its personal nature in his insertion of **אֱלֹהִים** ((d) above).

(iii) Stylistic reasons may also lie behind one strange omission ((e) above) and a change of voice ((f) above).

By omitting **וַיִּמְיֹתֵהוּ** and changing an active into a passive voice, it would appear at first sight that for some theological reason PC was anxious to dissociate Yahweh from any involvement in the death of Saul and the rise of David - especially as TC had gone out of his

1. In his translation, 9 a 1 seems to be aware of the pun and allusion referred to by Thomas WILLI and quoted on p. 8 in the article referred to in foot-note 3, p. 348.

way to stress the fact that Yahweh was the prime mover in the whole operation. The notion that PC wanted to avoid making Yahweh the subject of a particularly violent action can be discounted as Yahweh is the subject of such a verb e.g. in I Chr. 13:10 concerning the unfortunate Uzza¹ . It may be that his motive for the changes was stylistic:

(α) for him the presence of וַיִּמָּוֶת seems to have been a good illustration of the principle that over-statement of the obvious weakens the force of the argument: anyone who had read 10:13 did not need to have the basic fact repeated in 10:14. With וַיִּמָּוֶת gone and with Yahweh's operation so strongly presupposed in the section he saw no reason at this point to push Yahweh into the forefront and simply changed the active to the passive voice.

(β) In MTC there are two climaxes - which by the very definition of the word involved, almost denies the validity of the preceding statement! These are: Yahweh killed Saul; Yahweh handed over the kingdom to David. PC takes a much more effective approach: as Saul's death and the reasons for it have already been clearly stated, by removing וַיִּמָּוֶת he disposes of climax 1. This means that the spotlight can be focussed fully on the real climax - the rise of David, which can now move on rapidly to the Divine approval (11:2) and its confirmation (11:3).

4. Conclusions

Influence of TC on PC can be ruled out. By his handling of this short, rather awkward section in MTC, PC shows himself to be a literary artist, who by omission and some rephrasing presents a much more effective account of Saul's end and David's rise.

1. cf. I Chr. 21:14

SURVEY OF CHAPTER 10

It is notoriously difficult to show how one block of literary material is related to another block. The many millions of words which have been written in an attempt to unravel the relationships between blocks of material in the Pentateuch must serve as a warning to anyone who feels that such relationships can be easily disentangled and clearly demonstrated. A. E. Housman's¹ words on textual criticism are equally valid in our context. Speaking of the folly of having hard-and-fast rules, he says: "... their simplicity will render them inapplicable to problems which are not simple, but complicated by the play of personality". It is this 'play of personality' for which it is so difficult to legislate, be it in the realm of textual criticism, literary relationships or - which is our prime concern - translation from one language to another. In our instance the matter is further complicated by the fact that the translator is not just trying to translate one straight-forward passage into his own language. A large portion of that passage has a parallel elsewhere in the Old Testament, a parallel which has identities with and similarities to but also important differences from our passage, a parallel which no doubt existed already in other languages and in his own. Will the translator make use of the parallel in one or several of its various versions? If he does, then the 'play of personality' is given much more scope and the rules of the game become correspondingly complex.

As we look then at PC's attempt to translate I Chr. 10:1-12 into Syriac, certain features emerge:

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1. A. E. HOUSMAN 'The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism', Proceedings of the Classical Association, August, 1921, xviii (London 1922) pp. 68-69. Quoted in B. M. METZGER, The Text of the New Testament (1964) p. 219.

1. The strong influence of the Sam. tradition is very obvious, e.g. the insertion of the difficult וְרָקַרְנִי in PC in 10:4, or the reshaping of the structure of 10:3a in line with Sam., or (in more detail) the changes in 10:10b:

MTC "And his skull they fastened in the house of Dagon."

MTS "And his body they fastened on the wall of Beth Shan."

PC "And their bodies they hung up on the wall of Beth Shan."

2. It is sometimes difficult to decide which is the more powerful influence within the Sam. tradition - MTS, TS, PS, e.g. again in 10:10b the following verbs are used:

MTS fastened:

תָּקַעוּ

TS hung/lifted up:

זָלְבוּ

PS fastened:

מָבַע

PC hung:

הָלַח

הָלַח and זָלְבוּ seem to be more closely related to each other than to the remaining verbs. This suggests that the influence from the Sam. tradition on PC has come by way of TS.

Or 10:7 MTC "they forsook their cities".

MTS, TS, PS. " " the cities".

PC " " the cities".

As "their cities" is the more natural reading, it is unlikely that PC changed MTC's on his own. It is more likely that Sam. is influencing him here: but which Sam.? One cannot, in fact, answer this question without looking at the wider context.

3. LXX Sam. does not seem to come into the reckoning because though there are occasional points of contact, the respective variants often seem far removed from each other. Attention has been drawn already to the omission in PC I Chr. 10:7 shared by LXX Sam. A, and to

the $\text{L};\text{V}$ of 10:9 agreeing with עִ֑יִּם . Of considerable interest is the $\text{καὶ φερούσιν αὐτοὺς}$ of 31:12, almost agreeing with אֶלֶּם . But the agreement is vitiated by αὐτοὺς : the more difficult reading is אֶלֶּם and if this alone had been found in LXX Sam., serious consideration would need to have been given to its influence. The Sam. parallel to עֲרִיָּה in I Chr. 10:7 is עֲרִיָּה : surprisingly LXX Sam. has τὰς παλεις αὐτῶν , but this time PC agrees with the rest of Sam. with לָמָּו ! There are other unusual variants in LXX Sam. e.g., I Sam. 31:3 מִתְּנוּרִים becomes עִ֑יִּם τὰ ὑποχονδρία ; 31:8 בָּהָר גִּלְבָּע becomes עַל τὰ ὄρη . . .; or 31:12 $\text{וַיָּתַב בִּוֵּיִן}$ becomes $\text{καὶ τὸ σῶμα Ἰωνάθαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ}$; or 31:13 לִפְנֵי הָאֵשׁ becomes ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρουράν : none of these is even hinted at in PC.

4. Even when it is clear that the influence is from the Sam. tradition, PC sometimes has elements not derived from Sam., e.g. 10:10b

MTS, TS, PS. "And his body . . ."

PC. "And their bodies . . ."

5. The pattern of influence is not always consistent, e.g. PC 10:7 seems to be strongly influenced by PS, but TS seems more dominant in 10:8, while it is difficult to be certain about 10:9. Or one whole clause may seem to depend largely on Sam., e.g. 10:6, suddenly to find in it a basic word which is in MTC but not in Sam., חָתַן (חתן).

6. Sometimes PC launches out on its own, e.g. 10:1 'many slain'; 10:3 'and when Saul saw them'; 10:7 וַיִּפְּחוּ ; 10:10 'their bodies'.

7. The influences of TC is scarcely perceptible - if at all. It could, of course, be argued that where MTC and TC and PC agree, PC is relying on TC, e.g. 10:6 $\text{חָתַן - מִיתוֹ - חָתַן}$. This could only be

regarded as valid if it could also be shown that at least some of the TC variants from MTC are reflected in PC, e.g. 10:4, 5: אַתְּרָמָא; 10:7 "all the men of his house who were there". But of such variants there is no sign in PC. Much the same can be said of TC variants from MTC which are found also in TS, and reflected in PC. Four such may be quoted:

10:3 'bowmen who were skilled at drawing on the bow'.

10:4 'and he was very much afraid of them'.

10:8 'his three sons'.

10:8 'killed, lying'.

Since these variants are found also in TS, which exerts quite an influence in the passage, and as otherwise TC's influence seems non-existent, these three shared variants do not seem a very solid basis on which to rest a case for TC influence on PC.

8. There are some 'non-Targum-targumic-type' readings: e.g. the addition in 10:3 אַתְּרָמָא; or 10:9 for סַבִּיב - אַתְּרָמָא. אַתְּרָמָא.

9. In spite of the overwhelming Sam. influence, MTC has not been completely obliterated, i.e., there are still words appearing in PC whose presence shows that MTC was not ignored:

10:1 נִלְחָמוּ as opposed to נִלְחָמִים is preserved in סַבִּיב.

10:6 מִלְחָמָה - מִלְחָמָה

10:7 כָּל - כָּל (less 7 a 1)

10:10 מִלְחָמָה - מִלְחָמָה, where Sam. tradition used עֲשֵׂתָרוֹת or a special substitute.

10:12 מִלְחָמָה - מִלְחָמָה

It is difficult to sum up the results of this examination in a few words, but the general impression created by such a study is that

PC had used MTC, was not influenced by TC, was strongly influenced by Sam. tradition that influence coming perhaps through TS and PS with perhaps slightly more emphasis from TS than PS, and was able from time to time to launch out and give his own unique rendering.

This seems to imply that PC did his work surrounded by various versions of Sam., taking a little from one or other to supplement his Chr. material and sometimes introducing his own approach.

There may be another possibility, the clue for which can be seen in 10:12, mentioned in para. 4 to that verse: At some point PC (1) prepared his translation on the basis of MTC.

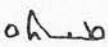

Some time later PC (1) or a PC (2) had access to the Sam. tradition (at this point it is not necessary to say which version or versions) which was used extensively in revising the original PC: much new Sam. material was added even when it meant jettisoning or adapting PC material, but in spite of this some of the original PC survived, e.g. in 10:12:

PC		MTC	MTS	TS	PS
לפני	for	ויקברו	ויקברו	וקברו	סמבני
בפניה	for	האלה	האשל	-	לוא
אלהם	for	ויביאום	ויבאו		אלהם

This אלהם is the most interesting and valuable reading, because it shows that in spite of pressure from Sam. the Hiph./Aph. emphasis of Chr. did not disappear, conflation taking place between Sam. and PC, the result being אלהם (without object suffix) shared by both PC and PS.

The difficulty with an 'Ur PC' approach, with all 'Ur' theories, is that, without a copy of the 'Ur text' to hand, any reconstruction of this text can become quite arbitrary. In fact in some verses where

Sam. and Chr. are quite similar and where the Sam. wave may have completely swamped any other distinctive MTC features in PC (1), it would be impossible to reconstruct PC (1). But here and there an occasional PC (1) 'rock' has survived, as indicated in 10:12, and it is from these that we must begin -

e.g. 10:6 
 10:7 

While such 'rocks' are few, they do provide the clue to what is a more satisfactory approach to how PC set about his work.

As the translation into Syriac of the non-paralleled material in 10:13-14 shows considerable literary flair, there is no reason why PC's "unique renderings" in 10:1-12 (cf. 8 above) should not have come in at the PC (1) stage and survived the revision.

The one big weakness in this approach is that with Sam. most probably being translated before Chr. it seems unusual that PC (1) would have begun his work without having access to the Sam. tradition in at least one or two of its versions.

As already stated in para. 4 to 10:13-14, PC in these verses, which are without a parallel, shows his literary ability in taking a difficult piece of material and giving us a much more readable version.

CHAPTER FIVE

II CHRONICLES, CHAPTER 19

In this chapter it is my intention to look closely at a short section in Chr. which has no parallel in Sam. or Ki. Without the distraction of a parallel passage, we may have a clearer view of how PC sets about his work. Each verse will be examined under the same headings as were used in I Chr. 10. The Syriac MS 7 a 1 lacks II Chr. 19. Thus when PC is quoted as evidence for a variant 7 a 1 is not included.

19:1-3 JEHOSEPHAT REPROVED FOR HIS ALLIANCE WITH

AHAB BY THE PROPHET JEHU

19:1

1. General Comments -

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

(a) יהודה רביית יהודה TC. שבתא

This expression is found regularly in TC.

(b) בשלום לשלום TC MS V; בשלום TC A. Sperber

ב seems the more natural preposition to use, and the ל may have come in because three consecutive words begin with the same preposition.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(a) יהודה למא; לא PC. 'Towards evening' has

replaced Judah. In 18:34 we learn that Ahab remained in his chariot

במהלך הערב, and that he died at sunset. Fraenkel¹

1. p. 736.

thinks that part of this phrase has strayed into our verse. The time factor may also have played some part in the variant. The impression in MTC 19:1 is that "After Ahab's death, Jehoshaphat returned . . .". PC leaves the impression that he returned shortly before or shortly after Ahab's death. But the reason for this change is not apparent. The Syro-Hexapla also omits יהורה but puts nothing in its place.¹

4. Conclusions

TC has no influence on PC and in the only variant in PC the translator seems to be going his own way for his own reason.

19:2

1. General Comments

(a) רשע and שנאי יהוה. The rest of the sentence suggests that these words refer to Ahab with whom Jehoshaphat had recently been linked in an unholy alliance. For this reason שנא יהוה would be a better reading, unless the reference is meant to include Ahab's men and the people of the northern kingdom, in which case רשע could be taken collectively² and the שנאי retained. LXX obviously read a singular for שנאי, though it construed it as a passive

טσφικα σπς πνεντσισμ.

(b) לעזר . . . תאהב. Because the finite verb following the infinitive is imperfect it is natural to understand the infinitive also in this sense. A timeless present seems to be called for, which is captured in ARSV by 'Should you help the wicked and love those who hate the Lord?'.

1. W. BAARS, New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts (1968), p. 120.

2. cf. CURTIS, p. 401.

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

(a) [החזה] סכומא TC MS V; סכומא TC MS C;

A. Sperber. As the reference is clearly to a person the latter reading is to be preferred.

(b) הכשר לך רעם חייבא הליכתא לסייעא [הלרשע לעזר]

A delightful example of a targumic attempt to spell out MT's 'shorthand'. The MT wording has been tripled in the process!

(i) TC's introduction of כשר has helped strengthen the note of moral recrimination.

(ii) By prefixing הליכתא to לסייעא, using a Perfect, he has shown that he regarded it as a reference to the recent war.

(c) [תאהב] תרחים MS V. רחמתא A. Sperber.

In view of (b)(ii) above, it is surprising to find MS V with the Imperfect where a Perfect would be expected, as in A. Sperber.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(a) [יהוא] om PC. A Jehu, whether identical with ours or not is irrelevant, has survived in I Ki. 16:1, but here he has disappeared - for reasons unknown. He has survived however, in the Syro-Hexapla,¹ where as with LXX he becomes יחזקאל rather than יחזקאל.

(b) [לעזר... תאהב] לעזר... תאהב } PC
לעזר... תאהב

(i) Though the לעזר follows the infinitive, its addition is very similar to TC's הליכתא.

(ii) By thus placing the two finite verbs PC has given a neatly balanced sentence, each clause ending with a second masc. sing. Perfect form.

1. BAARS, p. 120.

9 a 1; עלך קצף מלפני יהוה (c)
 6 h 13, 8 a 1, Edd. עלך מלפני

The rather wordy MT is effectively reduced to three words, a verb replacing the noun. The Syro-Hexapla¹ prefers the Greek approach which largely follows MT.

4. Conclusions

At first sight ול and על show close affinities with TC, but the כשר note in the same clause is not transferred, and one wonders if ול is not coincidental, each translator seeing the need to make לעזר a little more determinate.

PC's reshaping of 19:2a¹ is an improvement on MT and his abbreviating in 19:2b gives a much better result.

19:3

1. General Comments -

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

(MS C does not have this verse.)

(a) [זהכינות] וכוונתא TC MS V; ואתקנתא TC A.

Sperber. Though different verbs are used, the meaning is much the same.

For a similar expression in II Chr. 12:14, both MS V and A. Sperber use כון.

(b) [לדרט האלהים] למנובא אולפן מן קרם ייי TC.

As mentioned at I Chr. 10:13f, this expression is often - though not always - used in the Targums, e.g. in II Chr. 14:3 and 15:12 רחלתא replaces אולפן.

1. BAARS, p. 120.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(a)]אבל add , מלפני אל PC. This is a peculiar addition: it is as though the prophet were trying to indicate that it was his (the prophet's) personal intervention in finding these virtues and laying them before God that had tipped the scales in Jehoshaphat's favour.

(b)]נמצאו עמך אלהים מפי PC. While the verbal change may not be attributable to textual corruption (perhaps אלהים, but unlikely) it still makes sense. But I find it difficult to construe מפי - the meaning required is 'concerning you', 'with regard to you'. The only way which seems to give a reasonable meaning is 'from your presence', i.e. 'concerning you'. But even this is rather forced. Or it may mean 'good words have been heard from you', i.e. you have spoken words which are good in the eyes of Yahweh. Or again, 'good works have been heard (as issuing) from you'. The Syro-Hexapla has less difficulty and reads: قَالَ لِقَائِهِ اَقْلَامٌ
. ب

(c)]כי בערת האשרות מן הארץ
מפי ייטב ואלו לאלהים בא:ל PC.

This strange reading may have come from PC's inability to understand אשרות, an inability reflected in his translation of אשרות and אשרים by נצח in II Chr. 31:1; 33:3 and 34:3. Fraenkel¹ sees PC's lack of desire to mention אשרות as the reason for the change. Here he seems to have taken a word of similar appearance, אפי and used it as the basis for a new virtue for Jehoshaphat, which shifted the emphasis from the cultic to the moral sphere.

1. p. 736

(d) PC. למצאנו מים מים מים ללמד אלהים

Just as TC frequently uses a particular expression for this Hebrew phrase, PC also has its own expression, putting the emphasis on prayer rather than on instruction (See also I 21:30; 22:19; II 14:3; 15:12 etc.) The addition gives Jehoshaphat an 'alpha plus' grading for his piety. Though this expression, with its למצאנו מים מים מים has a Jewish emphasis, it may have developed in Christian circles reflecting the ascetic and monkish attitude in Syriac Christianity.

4. Conclusions

As so often the TC additions/alterations and the PC additions/alterations do not coincide. (a), (c) and (d) could be regarded as the readings of the non-Targum-targumic-type. But in spite of his difficulties PC has given us a readable version where for much of the verse he goes his own way.

19:4-11

THE APPOINTMENT OF JUDGES

19:4

1. General Comments -

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

(a)]ויצא add לאלכא TC. While 'teaching' is not actually referred to in MT, in that a mass conversion is reported in the second part of the verse לאלכא is a legitimate addition and very much in line with the targumic emphasis on teaching and instruction, as seen in the set expression in the previous verse.

(b)]אל יהוה לרחלתא דיי TC. Another normal targumic approach, the insertion of רחלתא to avoid the rather too direct emphasis implied in אל יהוה.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(MS 8 a 1 rather indistinct in this verse.)

(a)]מבערשבע וער הר אפרים

PC. מן הן שבע עבדא סעף להם; ואני

It is difficult to say whether this insertion represents a textual error or an expansionist tendency. The normal expression, as in I Chr. 21:2, II Chr. 30:5 is . מן הן שבע סעף לי. There is a slight possibility that a scribe seeing מן הן שבע, through force of habit wrote the full expression as above, then added להם; ואני as in his text. A later scribe, thought סעף לי was an error for עבדא, but when he had 'corrected' the text he realised he had to supply a verb to give proper sense. This is possible, but there are too many leaps to be made before the goal is reached!

(b)]אל יהיה לעבדא סעף PC. This

variant is not only targumic, it also follows much the same route as TC, both inserting רחל as the fence to prevent direct contact with God. This pattern is not followed consistently by PC, e.g. in II Chr. 30:6 the אל יהיה of MT becomes תורו לעבדא סעף cf. also II Chr. 30:8f.

4. Conclusions

Even if 3(a) can be explained on textual grounds we still have in 3(b) an expression which is targumic in character and in this instance is very close to TC.

19:5

1. General Comments

(a) לעיר ועיר is listed in Curtis¹ as one of the Chronicler's 'syntactical peculiarities' found only in late books. Here the expression is used distributively 'in each city', 'city by city'. The same form of expression is found also in I Chr. 26:13, לשער ושער.

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

חקרי לקרי]לעיר ועיר TC MS V.

לקרי וקרי TC MS C, A. Sperber.

The V reading may be an attempt to make better sense of a form he was not very happy with, though in the example listed in 1 above, I Chr. 26:13, he follows MT exactly.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(a) סמא ל עבא]לעיר ועיר PC. As with

TC, PC here seems to be making the best he can of an expression he is not quite sure of, though, also as with TC, he reproduced the similar expression in I Chr. 26:13 with no difficulty: whether he understood it or not is another question! His use of סמא ל עבא alongside סמא ל עבא seems to make the distinction between 'size' and 'being fortified', though one would have thought that, in the nature of things the 'large city' should be also 'the fortified city'. Ehrlich² remarks that in MT, the writer is thinking not so much of fortifications but of their significance: ". . . nur grössere Städte wurden befestigt", and interestingly, in a footnote he quotes the Syriac

1. p. 35.

2. p. 365.

word **fest** as an example, which is "eigentlich Festung, dann aber grössere Stadt schlechtweg". PC, however, does not use **fest** here but uses a much more neutral word and brings in the differential through two adjectives. But as pointed out above it is not clear if his differential is valid! Earlier, in 19:2, we saw PC using two verbs of the same form to achieve a neat stylistic balance. Could it be this same feeling for balance and repetitive symmetry which inspires this extra expression in 19:5?

4. Conclusions

PC seems to have had some difficulty here with the Hebrew but it is doubtful if his 'improvement' helps in its understanding.

19:6

1. General Comments

(a) ל is a preposition . לע לארם תשפטו כי ליהוה
whose exact shade of meaning it is sometimes difficult to determine.

When one judges לֹא אֵדָם or לִיהוָה for man or for Yahweh is it

(i) on behalf of, representing, on the authority of (TEV), in the name of (JB), - as Keil¹ puts it most comprehensively 'not on the appointment and according to the will of men, but in the name and according to the will of the Lord'.

(ii) as in the sight of, i.e. to please him (NEB).

While both (i) and (ii) approach the question from opposite ends, the resulting judgment may be the same!

(b) ועמכם ברבר משפט . Keil,² and Curtis³

1. p. 380.

2. p. 380.

3. p. 404.

suggest we make 'Yahweh' subject; J. M. Myers¹ thinks a יהי has dropped out through haplography and thus Yahweh would also be subject, Rudolph² also regards haplography as the cause of the trouble ליהוה and makes הוה the subject of the clause, as does Gesenius-Kautsch.³ It is immaterial which of the above we accept, as all of them regard Yahweh as subject, which is a much better approach than LXX which seems to have read

ועמכם רברי משפט
 ὁ θεὸς ἡμεῶν ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ ζωὴ αὐτῶν.

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

- (a) קדם בוני נשא]לגדום TC
 (b) קדם מנמרא דיי]ליהוה TC
 (c) ושכנתיה שריא עמכם]ועמכם TC

(b) and (c) are normal circumlocutory-targumic ways of speaking about Yahweh, and in our context, there are two things to note about these three variants:

- (i) In (a) and (b) ל of MT is clearly taken in the sense of 1 (a) (ii) above.
 (ii) TC in (c) certainly treated ועמכם in the same way as the commentators mentioned above in 1 (b), i.e. with Yahweh as subject.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(a)]ליהוה add אלה PC. This addition represents the kind of homiletic emphasis one would expect to see in a Targum. We find a similar approach in I Chr. 10:14 אלה. We may also note that the ל of 1 (a) gave no problems to PC and is simply reproduced as ל:

1. II, p. 106.

2. p. 256.

3. §147a.

PC. אלהם סיסם יל, מסמל]ועמכם ברבר משכט (b)

While it has a certain deuteronomic hortatory tone and sets a very high standard for the judges to aim at, this variant cannot be said to have any real basis in the text and must be regarded as a somewhat free rewriting of 19:6b which should not have been beyond the translator's competence.

4. Conclusions

The PC variants differ from these of TC, and represent PC going his own way, with a strong hortatory emphasis.

19:7

1. General Comments -

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

(a) קרם TC. קרם ייי]עם יהוה obviously suggested a more appropriate attitude than עם so far as God was concerned.

The rest of the verse is very close to MT, as no doubt the Aramaic flavour of some of 19:7b ונשא פנים ומקח שחר made translation easier.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

PC. סוססל סגל וססל ללל]ועדהי פחר יהוה עליכם (a)

The rewriting of this clause has brought a considerable shift of emphasis: where MT used פחר to introduce a note of warning to the judges in their work, PC has given a statement of the assurance of God's presence with them for ever. Why the 'fear' element was omitted is difficult to say, for in verse 4 this very element was introduced by PC, nor does the word פחר seem to have presented any great difficulty to the translator, as twice in recently preceding chapters, II

Chr. 14:13; 17:10, he had rendered it faithfully as לְהַגִּיד, וְלִשְׁמֹעַ.

We must, therefore, once again accept a certain amount of free writing on PC's part.

(b) מִן מַלְאָכָא]עם יהוה PC. While this agrees with TC, it would be enough to say that it is targumic in character. There are only a few instances of עִם with the Divine in Chr.; TC uses

קִרְבָּן or מִימְרָא, e.g. II Chr. 10:15; 13:12; 24:16; in the corresponding instances in PC, we have מִן, a change of verb and preposition, and a rephrasing of the clause.

4. Conclusions

There is a slight targumic emphasis in 3(b) but in the main variant 3(a) we see PC going his own way but the reason for this is not clear.

19:8

1. General Comments

(a) וְיָשְׁבוּ יְרוּשָׁלַם]κατακαύσαντας ἐν ἱερουσαλὴμ LXX

(i) LXX, with Vg habitoribus presupposes יִשְׁבִּי and offers the first of three proposed solutions to the problem of the clause quoted.

Curtis¹, Myers², Rudolph³ accept this reading and for the preceding

וְלִרְיִבִי יִשְׁבִּי יְרוּשָׁלַם giving finally וְלִרְיִב.

(ii) Keil⁴ takes MT as it stands regarding 'and they returned to Jerusalem' as the complement to וַיֵּצֵא בָעָם, 19:4, though he would have preferred it at the end of 19:7.

(iii) Ehrlich⁵ stressing the importance of the Jerusalem court reads

1. p. 404.

2. II, 107.

3. p. 256.

4. p. 382.

5. p. 366.

וַיֵּשְׁבוּ בִירוּשָׁלַם 'and they had their seat at Jerusalem',

which is how ARSV understands it also.

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

- (a) [מִן הַלֹּוִים] מִן ה' TC MS V.
 [בֵּין ה'] TC MS C, A. Sperber.
- (b) [וַיֵּשְׁבוּ יְרוּשָׁלַם] יָתְבוּ לִירוּשָׁלַם TC.
- (c) [בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל] יִשְׂרָאֵל TC.
- (d) [לְמַשְׁפַּט יְהוָה] לְרִינָא קְדָם יֵי TC.

The last three are 'targumic' in character - showing reverence for the divine name or adding the word which helps to a better understanding. In (a) בֵּין may be a scribal error, but there is no real shift in meaning introduced as a result.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

- (a) [וְהַכֹּהֲנִים] סֵטָה נִמְלָה PC. In MT this is the one group which lacks מִן : PC simply repairs the omission as do LXX and Arm.

- (b) [יִשְׂרָאֵל] חֲתָה אֶמְלָה PC. This is another 'targumic' style addition as with בֵּית in TC.

- (c) [וְלָרִיב] om PC. The omission is unexplained, unless, in that in 19:10 he translates רִיב by וְלָ, and as he has already used וְלָ in 19:8 for מַשְׁפַּט he avoided repetition of וְלָ by dropping רִיב altogether. LXX has οὐσούα and οὐσούα .

- (d) [וַיֵּשְׁבוּ יְרוּשָׁלַם] וַיֵּשֶׁב; לִמְלָחָה PC. Apart from supplying a preposition as did TC, he has made the verb singular. Thus both TC and PC understood יֵשְׁבוּ as coming from שָׁוָה . In using the singular he is giving even more credibility to Keil's approach, that this remark complements 19:4!

4. Conclusions

There is little of consequence in this verse. Apart from 3(d) where PC alone has a singular, any alterations in PC are largely 'targumic' in character, but do not coincide, apart from לעולם, with similar alterations in TC.

19:9

1. General Comments -

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

(a) באמונה] add וקטטא TC. The other MT occurrences of אמונה do not receive this addition in TC.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

(a) ויצו עליהם] ספפ אס PC. Though Syriac also had a פפ construction it is not used here.

4. Conclusions

Of the few variants in this verse the only thing which can be said is that the PC and TC variants do not coincide.

19:10

1. General Comments -

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

(a) בין דם לדם] בין גברא דחייב דין קטול
לגברא דזכאי מן דין קטול TC.

The somewhat cryptic expression in MT is usually interpreted as implying a distinction between murder and manslaughter. TC simply transcribes MT's shorthand.

(b) ליהוה] קדם ייי TC.

(c) והיה] ויהא TC MS V. ויהי TC MS C, A. Sperber.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

- (a) וכל PC MSS; סל PC Edd.
 (b) בעריהם כמסד PC.
 (c) להיקים om PC.
 (d) ליהרהר מן מן PC.
 (e) עליכם ויהיה קצף כלסס PC.
 (f) אחיכם אסתס PC.

Though there are many variants they are of little significance. The omission in (c) is strange - either PC ran out of legal terms or the number of words beginning with ל led to the omission of one of them. Three times (b, e, f) he changes suffixes and in so doing introduces a slight change in meaning. While in MT anger was in danger of falling on the judges and their brethren, in PC there is the danger of its falling not on the judges, but on their brethren and their brethren!

4. Conclusions

Apart from ל becoming קדמ / מן before Yahweh there is no contact between TC and PC variants, the former having come in primarily to elucidate the text, the latter through carelessness.

19:11

1. General Comments

(a) עם הטוב . The variety of translations in modern Versions is sufficient indication of the difficulty of translating this phrase:

- ARSV. May the Lord be with the upright.
 JB. Yahweh will be there to bring success.
 NEB. May the Lord be on the side of the good.
 TEV. May the Lord be on the side of the right.

Jehoshaphat rounds off his charge to the new judges with a kind of benediction. Rudolph¹ suggests we read (בעיניו) עם עשה הטוב

1. p. 256.

(in BHS, he suggests עשׂי): while the textual grounds for this are not very strong it does seem to be what is meant - May Yahweh be with the judge who judges justly.

2. TARGUMIC ALTERATIONS

(a) כהנא רבא דממנא לראש] כהן הראש TC.

(b) זכריהו] זבדיהו TC MS V.

זבדיהו TC A. Sperber.

(c) מימרא דיי] יהוה TC.

(d) בסערכון דטבא] עם הטוב TC. (A. Sperber

has לטבא for דטבא.)

On the whole these variants represent attempts by TC to clarify and fill out MT. The rather odd title for chief priest in (a) he rewrites in a more regular way but still allows ראש to play a part in the sentence. The name is different in MS V possibly through a simple textual error.

3. PESHITTA: Variants from MT

As much of PC is at variance with MT the extent of the difference can be seen in the somewhat wooden translation of PC, as follows:

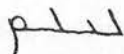
9 a 1

'Behold I have appointed over you priests who will judge you (6 h 13, 8 a 1, Edd. omit 'you') with a judgment of truth and a judgment of faithfulness according to the commandments of the Lord. And Zechariah the son of Shemaiah has shown to all those of the house of Judah all the commandments of the king and he has shown (sc. them) to the officials and the Levites. And (6 h 13 and Edd. omit 'and') everything he has repeated before them. And he said to them, 'Be strong and do!' and may the Lord be with (you as) your help (9 a 1 כחזקו; 6 h 13, 8 a 1, Edd. חזקו) for ever.'

Three things may be noted:

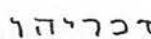

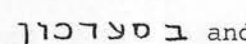

(a) זבדיהו] זכריהו PC. This agrees with MS V of TC.

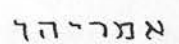
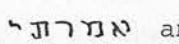
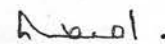
(b) אישמעאל] שמעאל PC.

(c)  appears in PC at the end of this prayer as it appeared also at the end of the prayer in 19:7.

(d) The meaning of the whole verse is rather confusing. In MT, Jehoshaphat gave a charge to the judges along with details of heads of departments and ancillary personnel. In PC, (whether we follow 9 a 1, or 6 h 13, 8 a 1 and Edd.) Jehoshaphat informs the judges that the priests will be judging them, the head of one department has disappeared, but Zechariah is still dealing with the commandments of the king which he has passed on to the officials and the Levites.

4. Conclusions

(a) There is some affinity with variants in TC,  (MS V) and ,  and . The latter may have been part of a stereotyped blessing and therefore not so significant.

(b) When one reads PC's translation, certain questions immediately arise: Was the text from which he was working defective? If not defective, did he misread it or fail to understand it? Did he misinterpret a good text? Fraenkel¹ thinks he can see misreadings or a bad text, e.g.,  he read as  and translated as . To attempt to give a rational explanation of the translation is difficult. In some ways the verse in PC reads like TC I Chr. 2:54 or 55, where one is vaguely aware of MT in the background. But in TC I Chr. 2:54 and 55 there was some motive behind the alterations and expansions. Here PC does not seem to be trying to drive home any particular point: at the beginning of the verse it is stated that priests will be judging the judges but this point is not really developed, and anyhow the fact

1. p. 736.

that the priest Amariah is in charge in certain matters has already been brought out in MT. Reading through PC's version leaves the impression of a translator in a hurry: perhaps he was trying to meet a deadline; nearing the end of a section already behind schedule, he glanced at his MT, formed a garbled version in his mind and wrote it up as best he could.

SURVEY OF II CHR. 19

This chapter has a considerable number of variants from MT, some of which can be explained as the result of:

1. Attempts to improve style: e.g. in 19:2 the awkward לעזר

תאהב ... is replaced by two balanced clauses each ending with the same verbal form (though not the same verb); in the same verse a rather unwieldy clause is reduced to three words 'the Lord was angry with you'; in 19:5 the לעיר ועיר becomes "and large cities": while it does not help the meaning, in form it provides a neat parallel to a similar phrase shortly before.

2. Failure to understand MT: e.g. in 19:3 we have a reference in MT to removing the Asheroth: this is changed to a non-shedding of blood reference. Either he did not understand the Asherah reference; or he did not want to mention the word (Fraenkel), or he saw in אשרות the verb אלה. Or the לעיר ועיר of 19:5 becoming "large cities". One would have expected the translator to have understood

ועמכם בדבר משפט of 19:6, but his 'be strong and give a true judgment' may indicate that he hadn't quite grasped it.

3. Carelessness either in translating or in text transmission - e.g. the addition after ב: פב in 19:4, or the omission of להקים in 19:9, or the mix-up in suffixes in 19:10, or the rather

chaotic state of 19:11.

4. Targumic Influence

(a) Readings from TC. I have noted seven points where there appears to be affinity between TC and PC. This may seem quite a heavy incidence in a passage of eleven verses and suggest a strong influence on PC from TC. But if variants are to be weighed rather than counted, the picture may change considerably.

Three of these relate to Yahweh.

19:4]אֵל יְהוָה לְרַחֵם לְתַגּ רִיִּי TC.

לְרַחֵם לְתַגּ רִיִּי PC.

19:7]עַם יְהוָה קָדֵם יִי TC.

19:10]לִיְהוָה מִבֶּן מִלֵּ PC.

All that these indicate is a certain Jewish background in the translator, which could suggest a Jew, or a Christian who had been a Jew and was still affected by the old thought-forms. It should also be pointed out that there are some instances in TC where circumlocutions have been used which do not appear in PC, e.g. 19:8.

In 19:8 יְרוּשָׁלַם becomes in TC לִירָ and in PC לְאִסָּ.

The 'to' is presupposed in MT, and as most translators would do, TC and PC simply make it explicit. LXX and Vg cannot be quoted as support for either side as they have a different understanding of the text at this point.

19:11 MT has זְכַרְיָהוּ, TC זְכַרְיָהוּ, PC וּכְלָ. A simple scribal error especially if the letters look rather similar could account for this.

19:11]עַם הַטוֹב בְּסַעֲרָכוֹן TC. בְּסַעֲרָכוֹן PC.

Here the wording is very similar: it may be that this was part of an old liturgical formula shared by both languages, or again it may betray

a certain Jewish background in the translator which is reflected in 19:3, where each uses a different phrase to express the same idea:

TC. לתתבב אולכנא מן קדם יי
 PC. לעלם מן מל כפמלא
]לדרש האלהים

19:2 לעזר . . . תאהב. Both TC and PC make the infinitive dependent on הליכתא / אולא. Again the agreement is close. In MT, there is an infinitive on its own without a preceding auxiliary verb; in normal speech, if the infinitive is to be retained some kind of auxiliary verb precedes it. As the reference here is probably to Jehoshaphat's recent alliance with Ahab, הליך and אול seem to be the natural verbs to appear, both in past time.

Apart from the last two examples, where a case could be made out for influence from TC, and where I may have been over-pleading the case for non-TC influence, the earlier examples seem to be instances, which spring from a certain "Jewishness" in the mind of the translator, some of them indeed being changes which any translator would naturally make. If one is to assert that TC is having a very strong influence on PC then one ought to be able to show that PC shares other types of variant than those which one would call 'typical targumic expressions'. In some of the verses from which the above instances are taken, there are some quite significant changes in TC. It is of note that these changes are not reflected in PC.

(b) Non-Targum-targumic-type readings. Some of these are found, of minor nature, e.g. in 19:3 where the statement is preceded by

אלה or 19:6 where to ליהוה PC adds מלמך אל.

Thus, while there is a certain 'targumic' emphasis in this chapter it seems to go far beyond the evidence to state that this has come by way of TC.

There are still some variants left for which none of the above reasons provides an adequate explanation, e.g. 19:1 where יְהִי עֶרֶב is replaced by "towards evening"; or 19:7 where; "and now may the fear of the Lord be upon you", becomes "Now may the Lord be with you for ever". It is here that we have to remember Housman's phrase, 'the play of personality' in the translator and put these down to his own individuality.

The Septuagint does not seem to have had much effect. Some of its variants have been mentioned already and none of them agrees with any of the PC variants; if LXX were exerting any worthwhile influence some of its variants ought to appear, as e.g. we see them on the whole faithfully reproduced in Arm.

If this chapter is a typical example of PC's work, we find a translator with some literary feeling, but who also betrays a certain lack of comprehension of some of the material before him, combined with not a little carelessness. If some of PC (1) I Chr. 10 was of the same quality as certain parts of II Chr. 19, it is not surprising that when PC (2) had access to the Sam. tradition, he felt obliged to make some changes to PC (1).

CHAPTER SIX

THE ARMENIAN VERSION OF CHRONICLES AND KHALATIANZ

This chapter has its origin in a comment by Prof. Michael E. Stone in EJ, Vol. 4, col. 862, in an article describing the Armenian Version of the Old Testament: "Khalatian (Moscow, 1899) published a version of Chronicles apparently reflecting the translation made from Syriac prior to the revision according to Greek manuscripts". If the latter part of this statement can be shown to be true, important consequences follow for our understanding of the Peshitta text of Chr. Before examining the statement in more detail, it is necessary to say something in general terms about the Armenian Bible.

The origins of Armenian Christianity and of the Armenian Bible are obscure. Although St. Gregory the Illuminator (c. 301) is normally regarded as the one who evangelised Armenia and whose work helped her to become the first nation to adopt the Christian Faith, he was probably the country's most important rather than her first evangelist. Tradition links the coming of Christianity to Armenia with the apostles Bartholomew and Thaddaeus,¹ and occasional references in ecclesiastical writers, e.g. the mention by Tertullian² of a church in Armenia in the second century or by Eusebius³ of a letter being sent to Armenian Christian communities in the third century, suggest the existence of a Christian presence in the country some time before Gregory. It is difficult to be precise about the place of origin of Armenia's earlier

1. See e.g. F. C. CONYBEARE, The Key of Truth, 1898, p. ciiif.

2. A. ROBERTS and J. DONALDSON (Ed), The Writings of Tertullian, 1880, Vol III, pp. 217-9.

3. Ecclesiastical History (ed. W. BRIGHT) (1872), VI, 46.

evangelists. There are, however, some clues: e.g. the facts that Gregory had spent much of his youth in Caesarea in Cappadocia, that there he had been consecrated bishop, that he brought back with him clergy from Sebastia in Cappadocia, that Cappadocia bordered on Armenia and itself had been evangelised early in the Christian missionary outreach¹, would lend support to the possibility that the Greek-style Christianity of Cappadocia had moved into Armenia and had made some impact there before Gregory - that Gregory was continuing a process which had been in operation for a considerable time. The other clue is to be found further south, for, with the establishment of Syriac speaking Christianity not far from Armenia's southern border, it is extremely likely that missionary thrusts from this quarter had penetrated some areas of Armenia before 301. Indeed, some think that by Gregory's time this was the stronger emphasis in Armenian Christianity, e.g. K. Sarkissian² remarks: "From all the evidence at hand it appears that up to the time of St. Gregory the Illuminator the Syriac-type Christianity was more widespread and, therefore more influential especially in the southern regions of Armenia than the Greek-type Christianity which existed most probably in the north-western provinces". After Gregory, and during the rest of the fourth and the fifth centuries the Church continued to expand along these two lines.³ It seems, therefore, a reasonable assumption that between the third and the fifth centuries there were two emphases in Armenian Christianity - the Greek and the Syriac.

1. cf. I Pet. 1:1.

2. The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church, 1965, p. 80.

3. cf. K. SARKISSIAN, A Brief Introduction to Armenian Classical Literature, 1960, p. 14, note 7.

In Gregory's time, however, there was no common written Armenian language. For the few who could read Greek or Syriac, Bible-reading was no problem, and there is evidence that from the time of Gregory schools for the teaching of Greek and Syriac were developed. For the rest, it would appear that the Scriptures were read in the churches in one of these languages, then expounded in a kind of 'Targum' in the local language. It was dissatisfaction with this state of affairs which, at the beginning of the fifth century, under the inspiration of St. Sahak and St. Mesrop, led to the invention of an Armenian alphabet, followed by the translation of the Scriptures into this language.

"The translation was first made from a Syriac version. But later in the middle of the thirties of the century, it underwent a radical and detailed revision on the basis of a Greek - Septuagint - text which was brought from Constantinople by Armenian students who were completing their philosophical, theological and biblical studies in the imperial city."¹

A statement such as this, which is found - with occasional variations - in most discussions of the origins of the Armenian Version,² stresses the fact that the two main 'partners' (albeit sometimes uneasy partners) in Armenian Christianity each played a significant role in the production of the Armenian Bible. Scholars differ, however, as to which was the prior emphasis in the translation, those who follow Moses of Chorene stressing the Syriac, those who follow Lazar of Parbi, the Greek.

There is one other 'non-theological factor' which may have had an effect on the final form of the Armenian Version, though it does not directly concern us here. This was the desire of the Persians on the

1. K. SARKISSIAN, A Brief Introduction to Armenian Classical Literature, 1960, p. 15.

2. cf. e.g. S. JELICOE, The Septuagint and Modern Study, 1968, p. 259f.

eastern frontier to eradicate the Western influence from Armenian life and culture, one of their methods in accomplishing this being to 'discourage' Greek-style and to 'encourage' Syriac-style Christianity. Moses of Chorene, e.g. tells us that at one point all Greek books were burned and the study of Greek forbidden.¹

The Armenian Version we have, e.g. in Zohrab's edition, seems to rely so heavily on LXX, that it is possible that, even if an earlier version had been based on the Syriac, when a revision was made in accordance with LXX the Syriac influence was largely obliterated, either as a reaction against Persian tactics, or because the Church felt that the copies of LXX which had now come to hand were more accurate.

With this background we return now to Khalatianz, who feels that he can bring us into almost direct contact with the Syriac Version on which the original Armenian translation was based.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, G. Khalatianz discovered in Echmiadzin an Armenian MS of Chr. different from anything he had known.² This discovery led to his being made aware of an earlier version of the same material in a thirteenth century MS in Jerusalem. For this MS he makes very high claims: "This newly-discovered text is, to all appearances one of the oldest if not one of the first works of Armenian literature still in existence today".³ Khalatianz believes that his text,⁴ (KH), represents the first Armenian translation which

1. See E. TER-MINASSIANTZ, Die Armenische Kirche in Ihren Beziehungen zu den Syrischen Kirchen, 1904, p. 20.

2. G. KHALATIANZ, The Book of Chronicles according to the Oldest Armenian Translation, 1899, Intro. pp. I-IV.

3. Intro. p. III.

4. In this chapter KH = the Armenian text of Chr. published by G. KHALATIANZ in 1899. See footnote 2 on page 384. Arm(Z) = the Armenian text of Chr. in Zohrab's edition of the Armenian Bible, 1805.

was made from a Syriac text - a translation which was later revised in accordance with LXX. This Syriac text, which he regards as a Syriac 'Targum' based on the Hebrew, disappeared, to be replaced by a version (i.e. our PC) based on LXX.

If I have understood Khalatianz aright, there seem to be two assumptions which may serve as starting-points for an examination of his text:

1. KH should have much more in common with MTC than with any other Version - unless it be TC; it should contain no LXX variants.
2. Khalatianz assumes that our Peshitta is based on LXX; many scholars today, while acknowledging the influence of LXX, would prefer to see this as due to later interpolation by Christian scribes into an already existing Syriac text.¹ If PC is a revision of an older Syriac version, with LXX not forming the base as Khalatianz suggests but rather being inserted here and there by scribes later on, then it seems highly likely that traces of that older Syriac version should still be visible in PC. The implication of this for our study is that there should be at least an occasional point of contact between KH and PC.

The scope of this chapter, therefore, is limited. It is not an attempt to produce a history of the Armenian text of Chr. The aim is to examine in KH, the five chapters of Chr. already looked at in this thesis, in the hope that such an examination will indicate if KH has any real points of contact with the other Versions, in particular with PC. Zohrab's version, Arm(Z), is used as a point of reference to represent the standard Armenian text.

1. See ROBERTS, p. 220.

chapters of I Ki. in 1934. Three sentences from his conclusions are of interest from our point of view:

p. 54. "... it is very apparent that the Armenian translator used a text which was very similar to A."

p. 58. Speaking of occasional agreements between the Armenian and the Syriac he adds, "but in every case the Armenian form has a counterpart in some Greek MS".

p. 59. "... in Kings there is no trace of the original translation from Syriac into Armenian."

These sentences seem to apply equally well to our five chapters of Chr. so far as Arm(Z) is concerned. It is of interest that Bo Johnson finds only slight traces of Peshitta in I Sam.¹

Turning now to KH, a brief review of each of our chapters in Chr. is given, then an attempt is made to take a synoptic view:

I CHR 1

A. In the 'names section' which comprises most of the chapter, the following groups are isolated:

1. KH = Arm(Z) = LXX. There are occasions when these three witnesses share a reading, and there is no clear way in which the reading could have come from the Syriac:

(a) 1:15 יְהוָה] טוֹב αδενναιδν LXX A; արսենազին Arm(Z);
ասանին KH.

Apparently, though it used the Definite Article, טוֹב, LXX regarded the Hebrew Definite Article יְהוָה as the vowel α and as part of the noun.

1. MICHAEL E. STONE in review of BO JOHNSON, Die Armenische Bibelübersetzung als hexaplarischer Zeuge im I Samuelbuch, 1968, in RB 77 (1970), p. 260.

Arm(Z) and KH have ω . This initial α / ω is understandable if the translator is using a Hebrew Vorlage, or if he is copying from LXX. But if he is using a Syriac Vorlage, with the Article at the end of the word ܠܒܠܐ , the initial α / ω becomes more difficult to explain. It may indicate that KH is following a LXX MS - unless of course his Syriac Vorlage had a Prosthetic Alaph!

- (b) 1:43 ܠܒܠܐ $\beta\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa$ LXX; ܠܒܠܐ Arm(Z) = KH.
 ܠܒܠܐ $\sigma\epsilon\pi\phi\omega\rho$ LXX b y e₂; ܠܒܠܐ Arm(Z); ܠܒܠܐ KH.

Thus TC equates ܠܒܠܐ with Balaam, son of Beor; some LXX MSS and Arm(Z) and KH equate ܠܒܠܐ with Balak, son of Zippor (Num. 22:2, 4). PC has ܠܒܠܐ .

- (c) 1:45 ܠܒܠܐ $A\sigma\sigma\mu$ LXX; ܠܒܠܐ Arm(Z) = KH; ܠܒܠܐ PC.

2. KH on its own, e.g.,

- 1:12 ܠܒܠܐ ܠܒܠܐ KH.

- 1:33 ܠܒܠܐ KH.

3. KH = PC, with qualification, e.g.,

- 1:40 ܠܒܠܐ PC; ܠܒܠܐ KH; BUT some LXX minuscules also have ܠܒܠܐ .

4. KH = PC

- 1:17 ܠܒܠܐ PC; ܠܒܠܐ KH.

KH has preserved the ܠܒܠܐ , though it should be stressed that ܠܒܠܐ and ܠܒܠܐ are very easily confused.

- 1:32 ܠܒܠܐ PC; ܠܒܠܐ KH.

Although KH has ܠܒܠܐ in 1:33, in both cases the ܠܒܠܐ is preserved.

Two things, however, should be stressed:

- (a) Group 3 variants are few and Group 4 variants fewer.
 (b) Against the small number of instances where KH = PC must be

mentioned the majority of PC variants which find no reflection in KH.

From approximately twenty such in I Chr. 1, three examples are selected:

1:17 [משך] PC שחור KH

1:18 KH קבץ PC עבד: עבד

1:32 [יְלִדָה אֶת] om PC קָרָה שָׁמַע שָׁמַע KH

B. In the 'prose section' in this chapter, e.g. four brief passages in 1:10, 12, 19, 43, we see in KH a tendency to launch out on his own, with an occasional omission along with a hint of verbosity. Links are more with MT than specifically with LXX or PC. We see the hint of verbosity in 1:10:

MT "And he began to be a mighty one in the earth."

KH "It was he who was first (to be) a mighty one upon the face of the earth".

In 1:12, for **ואת כפתרים** we have in PC مفحة, i.e.,

(a) the Object-marker is omitted, thereby providing a second subject for the verb. KH does not follow.

(b) PC, with TC, has updated the proper name to 'the Cappadocians'.

It is surprising that this is not reproduced in KH, as Cappadocia was on Armenia's border, unless perhaps there was some tension between the Greek and the Syriac emphases in the Church at the time of translation and the translator deliberately refrained from referring to the Cappadocians.

I CHR 2 AND 3

Here, as in I Chr. 1, there is a little narrative and many names, and the pattern in chapter One is largely repeated here. There are two things to be noted:

1. Instances where KH = PC without qualification are scarce, e.g., 2:18,
 [אֲרָרָךְ] \ֹס! PC; אֲרָרָךְ KH (even though the ך \ has become ם).
2. KH sometimes seems to have misunderstood his text, e.g. 2:3, where
 נָר becomes הָר and is regarded (quite legitimately from the formal
 point of view) as a third sing. masc. imperfect of the verb 'to be' -
 which seems to make Judah the one who acted evilly! But this is nothing
 new with translators, e.g., PC in 3:21 introduces several extra gener-
 ations through his misunderstanding his text!

I CHR 10

The impression created by a reading of this chapter is that we are dealing with a somewhat freely rewritten version of MT, a version which has few contacts with LXX and Arm(Z) and even fewer with PC, and whose peculiarities may be classified as follows:

1. Prolixity. 10:8 is a good illustration of adding words without necessarily improving the sense. In this rather 'wooden' translation the KH extras are underlined: "And it came to pass on the morrow and (KH omits 'and') the Philistines came, they came down to the battlefield to rob the dead and they came, they found Saul and his (KH 'the') sons fallen in the midst of the dead on Mount Gilboa". This verse illustrates also a stylistic feature which occurs several times in this chapter - the juxtaposition of two verbs without a copula, the first verb being one of motion: 'the came, the came down'; 'they came, they found'. (cf. 10:3, 7.)
2. Omission. e.g., 10:1 "And they fell wounded on Mount Gilboa". cf. part of 10:3.
3. KH = Arm(Z) = LXX. 10:6 "And Saul died and his three sons on that day." Though PC shares the 'on that day' addition with LXX and Arm(Z),

KH and PC in such a chapter than in I Chr. 10. Such a chapter is II Chr. 19.

II CHR 19

As pointed out in the preceding chapter, PC's handling of II Chr. 19 raises several questions - indeed at times his translation suggests that he did not really understand his text. For whatever reason, his version is sometimes very free paraphrase.

Looking at KH, the following features are noted:

1. Prolivity, though not quite so much as in I Chr. 10, e.g. 19:7, where MT has "And now let the fear of Yahweh be upon you", PC omits 'the fear of' in his rephrasing, but KH has "And now let reverence and fear of the Lord be upon you".
2. Omission. Certain phrases and clauses just disappear, perhaps because of difficulty of comprehension, e.g. 19:5 לעיר ועיר; but sometimes the disappearance is inexplicable, e.g. 19:4 "And he brought them back to Yahweh, the God of their fathers".
3. KH = Arm(Z) = LXX, e.g.:
 19:2 החזרה לחזרה LXX; לחזרה Arm(Z) = KH; לחזרה PC.
 19:6 חשפט בדבר חשפט חשפט חשפט חשפט LXX
לחזרה לחזרה לחזרה לחזרה לחזרה לחזרה Arm(Z)
לחזרה לחזרה לחזרה לחזרה לחזרה לחזרה KH.
4. KH = PC. These contacts are rare.

19:2 Agreement in tenses in the 'helping-the-evil haters-of-Yahweh' clause.

- 19:5 שפט שפט LXX = Arm(Z); שפט PC; שפט KH
 19:6 לחזרה add לחזרה PC; add לחזרה KH.

But it must be stressed that again and again in this chapter, PC goes

its own way and it is only rarely that we see KH having even the suggestion of a contact with PC.

It is also noted that there are no significant points of contact between KH II 19:1-3 and the Syro-Hexapla of these verses as found in Baars¹.

SURVEY OF THE FIVE CHAPTERS

Looking at the five chapters together, certain features stand out clearly:

The transmission of the many names is at times faithful to MT; at times these names are spelt in a way which differs from any other version, with occasional contacts between LXX and Arm(Z), and PC.

In the prose sections:

- (a) Prolixity, omission and rewriting are constant features of KH when set alongside MT: perhaps, because of these features, we may wish to call it a "targum".
- (b) There are no clear links with TC.
- (c) There are some contacts with LXX and Arm(Z).
- (d) There are a few contacts with PC but many PC variants are not found in KH. This is particularly well illustrated in II 19, where in PC and KH we have much 'rewriting', but the KH variants seem to have very little to do with the PC variants.

Khalatiansz felt that his text represented a Syriac Targum (based on the Hebrew text) which disappeared and was replaced by a Syriac version based on LXX. Certainly KH has sufficient paraphrastic elements to justify the title of 'targum'. But in the nature of things it is

1. p. 120f.

difficult to establish whether the remainder of Khalatianz' statement is true. As pointed out earlier¹, it was felt that, if it were true, there should be at least some points of contact between KH and PC, and a lack of LXX variants. The links with PC have been few and doubtful, and there have been some LXX variants, this latter fact suggesting that either at the beginning or somewhere in the course of transmission, LXX influence had a part to play.

PC II Chr. 19 seems to me to be an important factor in the discussion:

(a) With its lack of Sam. or other parallel, it had a greater chance of escaping drastic revision(s), and it does not seem to be based on LXX.

(b) Its general appearance in PC does not give the impression that it has been revised: one would certainly have difficulty in finding with what it has been revised, and one would also feel that the reviser should have done a better job.

(a) and (b) suggest to me that PC II Chr. 19 may not be far removed from the original text - and here one has to note that worthwhile contacts between PC and KH are difficult to find.

It could be suggested that both PC and KH in II 19 show 'targumic features' and that therefore they represent different versions of a Syriac Targum, or that they are both independent Targums - but this brings us into an area of speculation where hard facts and firm proofs are difficult to come by.

1. See above, p. 385.

Summing up, three things may be said:

1. On the linguistic proofs for the early character of KH I am not competent to pronounce, and they have therefore been left out of the argument.
2. Khalatianz' assertion on the relationship of KH to the Syriac Version is difficult to disprove, as he believes that the Vorlage of KH disappeared.
3. If the criteria worked out above¹ are valid, it does not seem to me that we can state with confidence that in KH in these five chapters we are in very close contact with the original Syriac text. The verdict would have to be 'not proven'.

1. See above, p. 385.

CONCLUSIONS

In this study five chapters of Chr. have been examined: I Chr. 1-3, 10; II Chr. 19. The first three consist largely of names in various kinds of lists, with a minimum of narrative material; the last two are straight-forward narrative, one of these being closely paralleled in Sam.

In TC's version of these chapters we see various alterations and expansions in the biblical text. Certain comments can be made about these:

1. TC's expansions usually 'grow' out of the text, even though occasionally the growth is a little forced.

Sometimes a man's name invites an expansion; just as in MT (1:19) Peleg is so called "because in his days the earth was divided" (פלג), so for TC, (1:20) Sheleph is so called "because he drew . . ." (שלף); or (1:10) Nimrod's unfortunate name with its apparent resemblances to מרר made him the great rebel. Occasionally several names in a verse are extracted, their common noun meanings substituted and a large expansion is built round these, TC moving from one word to the other as though they were stepping stones e.g., 1:50 Hadad(r), Matred and Mezahab.

Sometimes a little background information is required to complete the picture: (10:13) in MT we are told that Saul had not kept the word of the Lord, and TC, as it were, adds a footnote reminding us of the occasion "when he made war with those of the house of Amalek".

Sometimes a difficulty in the biblical text has to be cleared up. In 10:6 MT all Saul's house died: but elsewhere we are aware of a son of Saul still alive after Saul's death; TC therefore reshapes - "All the men of his house who were there died".

Sometimes MT's language has to be decoded and spelt out in detail - II, 19:10: "between blood and blood" becomes in TC "between a man who has committed a capital crime and one who has not committed such a crime" - i.e. between murder and manslaughter.

Sometimes, for theological reasons, certain statements must be reshaped, II, 19:4 "to Yahweh" becomes "to the fear of Yahweh", or 19:3 "to seek the Lord" becomes "to seek instruction from the Lord".

Sometimes the man X is made equal to Y, in line with a suggestion in b. Meg. 13a as to the way to interpret Chr.; by identifying X with Y, the attributes of X (those inherent in him or derivable from the linguistic form of his name) are transferred to Y to highlight his virtues or his vices, or in some way to draw particular attention to him; e.g. 2:7 Carmi = Zimri; 2:19 Miriam = Ephrath; 3:15 Zedekiah = Shallum.

In these and in many other ways we see TC acting as a Targumist is expected to act, i.e. translating his biblical text in such a way that its meaning, real or derived, is made clear to the hearer or reader.

2. While TC no doubt made some contribution to these alterations and expansions, he must not be regarded as the author of them all. As we read our chapters, we feel we are surrounded by a great cloud of witnesses: we hear echoes of some of the traditions which are now to be found, e.g., in the Talmuds, Sifre Num., Mekilta, or in the Targums, e.g. Ps Jon or Tg Ruth. To change the metaphor, TC is the filter through which many of these traditions reach us, e.g., 2:17 the Jether the Ishmaelite - Ithra the Israelite controversy appears in several places but the discussion in our verse seems to depend very much on b. Yeb. 76b and 77a, and as the controversy centres around Ruth the

Moabites, there are also possible links with Tg. Ruth. Filtering involves selecting - e.g. 3:15, the Zedekiah - Shallum identification and expansion: we find in both b. Ker. 5b and b. Hor. 11b two reasons for this identification: one of these TC takes over and reproduces almost word for word. In 2:54, the guard posts episode: the basis for the development in TC seems to be closer to the approach taken in y. Ta'an 68b than that taken in t. Ta'an 4, 7, or b. Ta'an 28a, and in the background one is aware of contacts with Tg. Ruth 4:20. Or in the expansion in the following verse, 2:55, dealing with Jabez, Jethro, Rechab etc., we have clear links with similar discussions in b. Tem. 16a, Sifre Num. / בהע, p. 73, and Mekilta, Amalek IV, though the line of development is not always absolutely clear-cut. In 1:13, with Buthnias and Sidon, we feel that Ps Jon's expansion at Gen. 10:15 has been involved; and the goats' hair episode in 2:18 shows clear points of contact with Ps Jon's handling of Ex. 35:26. But here we are in danger of going to the other extreme and regarding TC as a mere plagiarist, using his scissors and paste to reproduce vast chunks of e.g., the Talmuds. It should therefore be remembered that:

(a) often we find, e.g. in the Babylonian Talmud, varying traditions on the same theme. TC had to decide which tradition to use in his exposition;

(b) while sometimes, comparison of traditions shows that TC has almost identical wording with this or that tradition, often, by a slight shift of emphasis, or by introduction of new material, or by simple omission, the tradition appears in a new form;

(c) from time to time we find in TC traditions or comments which have not been preserved elsewhere: whether we make their author TC or the tradition he represents, is at this point irrelevant.

For example, 1:20 the peculiar interpretation of Hazarmaweth is found only in TC; in 2:55 though Moses plays only a minor role in the related traditions, he is brought into the narrative and given pride of place.

Thus, if we may once more change the metaphor, TC is not a lone voice crying in the wilderness, - through him many voices speak, but it is he who controls the timbre.

3. The last sentence of the preceding paragraph leads us into a further area of discussion. When we compare TC with the traditions which seem to have links with his statements, we sometimes see TC making his own contribution:

(a) This contribution sometimes gives the impression that TC is the last term in the series:

(i) Occasionally a comment by TC puts beyond all doubt an issue which, in some of the other traditions, was left rather ambiguous, e.g. 2:18: it was not quite clear in Ps Jon to Ex. 35:26 and b. Shab 74b and 99a how ל was to be interpreted, an ambiguity reflected in the variant reading מ. TC makes it absolutely clear by adding כרל ג'ז that ל is the reading and that it means exactly what it says.

(ii) Occasionally TC seems to be one stage further away from the original biblical stimulus, e.g. 1:43 where TC had an opportunity to use בלע in the Bela-Balaam context as had been done in Ps Jon to Num. 22:5, but uses another verb instead, which may suggest that TC had moved away from the original 'foundation-pillars' of the expansion. In 2:54 a rich background of outwitting-the-enemy traditions by various ruses, is condensed into a one word allusion בזנע - an indication perhaps that the stories were now so far in the past as to be almost forgotten or that they were so well known as not to require retelling.

(iii) Occasionally TC gives us a "loaded expansion", exceptionally brief, but opening a window on to a vast panorama of exegetical tradition, e.g. 1:24 Shem, the great priest; 1:44 Bela, whom Phinehas slew in the desert; 2:19 Miriam who is called Ephrath. Sometimes an extended expansion indicates that it is the last term in the series; sometimes exceptional brevity indicates the same phenomenon, the almost cryptic brevity implying that herein is a reference to a story or series of traditions so well known as to need no further elaboration.

These three suggestions, in slightly different ways, indicate a certain lateness on TC's part.

(b) This impression of lateness finds some confirmation in the fact that occasionally there are hints of contacts between TC and works which are normally regarded as late. The word 'hints' is used, because:

(i) I have not had access to any of these works, my knowledge of them coming primarily through references in Ginzberg's Legends of the Jews.

(ii) sometimes the links are quite tenuous.

For example, 1:10 Nimrod and his shedding of innocent blood: the same expression is found in Tg. to Psalms but the event referred to may relate to Ma'aseh Abraham; 1:19 Peleg and Zawwaat Naphtali; 1:19 Yoktan and Yashar Noah; 1:46 Hadad and Midian: the TC expansion seems to make much more sense when read in the light of Yashar Shemoth.

In dealing with the dating of Jewish traditional works, one often finds a comment such as: "This work was compiled in the ninth century, but many of its traditions go back to Tannaitic times". It is when one tries to be more precise in the dating of these traditions that difficulties arise. In a Targum, which, by its very nature, was continually growing and being adapted to new situations, attempts to date the

material are especially hazardous. On the basis of our five chapters all that can be said with confidence is that in a work which, because of its parallels, is in touch with many traditions of many ages, there is an impression of lateness in the final shaping of some of the traditions - possibly a considerable time after the dating of the Babylonian Talmud.

4. Some light is thrown on the work of the Targumist through the fact that occasionally we find ourselves in a position that because a verse has a parallel in Gen., and because that Gen. verse has a number of Targums extant, we can compare several targumic interpretations of the same verse, e.g. TC to 1:10 with TO, Ps Jon, Neo I, Neo I M and FT to Gen. 10:8, 9; or TC to 1:50 with TO, Ps Jon, Neo I, and FT to Gen. 36:39 (Matred). It is of interest that, apart from TO, while the others show a great similarity in the handling of the common material, they all show certain differences. These differences (as suggested at 1:10) may reflect regional variations; but what is of more significance is that these variations show that the Targumists, though sharing a common tradition, felt able to exercise considerable freedom within that tradition in their interpretation of the biblical text.

Coming directly from our five chapters of TC to the same chapters in PC, and having been told by, e.g., Eissfeldt¹ that PC "was translated . . . in dependence upon a Targum", a reader will naturally expect to find in PC some, at least, of the targumic features he has found in TC. He will find:

(a) in PC a text which seems to be based on MT, with very little evidence of influence from LXX or Vg;

1. O. EISSFELDT, The Old Testament (1965), p. 700.

(b) an occasional textual contact between PC and TC e.g. 2:19; or 1:50 (though for the latter the parallel verse in Pesh Gen. already has the variant);

(c) one name up-dated in I Chr. 1, כַּפְתָּרִים 1:12, in much the same way as in TC - though he will also find that this has already happened in the parallel verse in Pesh. of Gen.;

(d) no real hint in PC of any of the exegetical traditions he has been introduced to in TC, Aphrahat or Ephrem.

(e) certain Jewish-style reverential expressions used sometimes in relation to God; e.g. II. 19:4, 7, 10;

(f) some expressions which could be called 'non-Targum-targumic-type' expressions but which in reality are neat paraphrastic turns of phrase - 10:3 and 10:9;

(g) that PC has variants from MT and that TC has variants from MT, but that rarely do the two sets of variants show any points of contact, and that when they do, as, e.g. in I Chr. 10, the parallel verse in TS usually has the variant as well and may therefore be its source;

(h) that where parallels are available, PC shows considerable reliance on these - in Gen. to some extent, possibly on Peshitta, in Sam. to a very large extent, TC being for the most part the channel of the Sam. influence;

(i) where no parallels are available:-

(i) a text which shows certain praise-worthy literary features;

(ii) a text which may have been either based on a rather defective manuscript, or translated by someone whose Hebrew was rather defective, i.e. either the translator could not properly decipher what was in front of him or did not wholly understand it, and did the best he could with the material/equipment he had;

(j) some serious gaps in the text, especially amongst the names in I Chr. 2 and 3.

Thus we have in these five chapters a translation which at times is very faithful to MT, especially in its reproduction of proper names, at times somewhat careless in their reproduction, at times relies heavily on parallel passages, especially in the Targumic form, at times uses Jewish 'set expressions', at times either with a poor knowledge of Hebrew or working from a poor text, gives us readings which seem to be more inspired guesses than accurate translations.

Whether such a translation can be called a Targum is a moot point. While it is difficult to define a Targum in sufficiently broad terms to include such disparate versions as TO and Ps Jon, and sufficiently narrow to isolate the distinctive features of that literary genre, to call TC's rendering of these five chapters a Targum seems to be following the practice of Humpty Dumpty in Alice Through the Looking Glass,¹ "When I use a word . . . it means just what I choose it to mean - neither more nor less."

From the above one thing is clear: TC as we know it, had no part in translating our PC, or if it did, it developed since in such a way as to bear no real resemblance to its original form.

One other matter from the earlier remarks requires further discussion - the fact that there are several serious gaps in the lists of proper names. Dr A. P. Hayman has informed me that in MSS in Peshitta Num. there is sometimes a marginal comment *h;as*, telling the reader to skip the following list of names. But the names have not disappeared.

1. LEWIS CARROLL, Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass, (n.d.), p. 242.

Can it be that, because a book was read in public services it was important that it be in good condition, textually and otherwise, and the fact that such gaps and signs of shoddy translation/transmission appear in PC is an indication that it was not read in public worship? This may be part of the reason, but it raises again the question of the status of Chr. in both Judaism and in the Syriac speaking Church. There seems to me to be a partial parallel between Chr. and the Gospel according to St. Mark. As most of Mk. was found in more suitable lectionary form in Matt. and Lu., (e.g. parables and Sermon on the Mount), Mk. tended to fall out of favour in the Middle Ages - assisted no doubt by Augustine's disparaging comment on Mark as being merely Matthew's 'camp-follower and abbreviator'. In drawing attention to these facts, Stephen Neill¹ comments that this view of Mark "is reflected in the fact that of the more than seventy Gospel lections for Sundays and Saints' Days in the Prayer Book of the Church of England only three are drawn from Mark". He notes a similar pattern in the sermons of John Donne. For much of its material Chr. is paralleled in Sam-Ki., where more of the history is covered, in a much more readable form, and without the nine daunting introductory genealogical chapters of Chr. or the regular appearance in the main narrative section of long lists of names of singers, gate-keepers etc.. It is understandable that Chr. should be used less and less, the consequent neglect giving the impression that it was not of much significance. The fact that PC does not use TC may confirm this low status in Judaism, i.e., PC did not use TC because TC was not in existence or had not been widely disseminated.

1. STEPHEN NEILL, The Interpretation of the New Testament, (1964), p. 107.

At some point Chr. is translated into Syriac, either from a poor MS or by a poor Hebraist, or perhaps a combination of both. This first attempt, PC (1), is revised in accordance with parallel material, e.g. from Sam., though traces of PC (1) are still visible, e.g. in certain surviving words in PC I Chr. 10. The unparalleled material may have escaped revision.

The low esteem in which Chr. was held did not help in the transmission of PC, leading no doubt to further gaps and a particular carelessness in the transmission of proper names many of whom seemed otherwise unknown.

It is difficult to say whether the translation was done by Jews or Christians. There is certainly a strong Jewish flavour in some of the expressions used, and there is no inherent reason why Jews should not have done the work. Christians from a Jewish background could also have been responsible. The comment at I Chr. 5:2, of which Nöldeke¹ makes so much, lies outside our chapters.

It is equally difficult to give a time for the translation. If the lack of usage through lack of popularity argument is valid, then the translation was made later than earlier. There is one reference in 2:34, 35, where Sheshan's daughter is given as wife to his slave.

1. "Den rein jüdischen Character zeigt die Stelle I. Chron. 5,2, wo es heisst: "aus Juda wird hervorgehen der König Messias"; wer diesen Zusatz gemacht hat für den war doch Christus noch nicht gekommen.
T. NÖLDEKE, *Die Alttestamentliche Literatur*, (1868), p. 263f., quoted in C. A. HAWLEY, *A Critical Examination of the Peshitta Version of the Book of Ezra* (1922), p. 2.

PC manages to exclude all reference to the 'slave' aspect of the marriage - which may reflect a situation, e.g. in the Christian Church at a time and in an area where there was a strong fuedal pattern, or indeed where there was some regulation prohibiting such a marriage. But further than this it is difficult to go.

I had hoped, at the outset, that an examination of our five chapters in the Armenian text of Khalatianz might bring us closer to the 'original' Syriac text. In the nature of things his argument can be scarcely proved or disproved: if I say that A resembles B but that B has disappeared and is no longer available for comparison, it is difficult to proceed further. Thus if the original Syriac from which the Armenian was translated disappeared soon after the translation was made, it is difficult to say if his text indeed represents that original. By an examination of our PC I have been unable to substantiate his argument and therefore leave it 'not proven'.

As stressed in the introduction, this study has been carried out on a narrow basis - a mere five chapters. Any conclusions drawn are not necessarily valid outside these chapters, and it may be that - should the basis of the examination be widened - some of these conclusions would have to be revised.

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